

After Initiative 200:
Trends in Minority Undergraduate Admissions & Emerging
Trends in Race-Neutral Policies to Attain Diversity

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Executive Summary

With the passage of Initiative 200 in 1998, Washington voters banned the use of affirmative action policies in public contracting, employment, and education. Public 4-year institutions in Washington State were required to alter admissions policies in response to the initiative. While universities in the state continued to value diversity, they feared drops in the application, admission, and enrollment or participation of minority students following implementation of Initiative 200. As the first state to ban affirmative action only one year earlier, California's public 4-year institutions experienced large declines in the participation of minority students following the ban. Universities thus sought race-neutral policies in order to maintain and increase student diversity on college campuses throughout the state.

This research:

- Examines the impact of Initiative 200 on the application, admission, and enrollment of minority students at each public, 4-year institution in Washington State.
- Examines trends in application, admission, and enrollment of minority students at each public university in the state.
- Creates an inventory of common policy responses at universities in Washington and other states following bans on affirmative action.
- Evaluates the success of these common policy responses at increasing student diversity on college campuses.
- Offers recommendations for the Washington State Commission on African American Affairs.

The impact of I-200 at universities in Washington State was minimal, with slight declines in some minority groups at some universities in the state. The less selective institutions in the state, including Central Washington University, Eastern Washington University, and Western Washington University, witnessed minimal effects of I-200. No overarching negative result is evident at all institutions for African American students, Native American students, Hispanic students, or Asian American students. However more selective institutions, including Washington State University and the University of Washington, experienced clear declines in the application, admission, and enrollment of minority students. The largest impact of I-200 was registered at the University of Washington. Declines in the number of applications received from

minority students following the passage of I-200 translated into further declines in both the admission and enrollment of minority students at the university, with the exception of Asian American students.

Race-neutral policies that sought to minimize the effect of Initiative 200 on minority participation, including increased outreach and recruitment and the addition of some form of economic affirmative action to the admissions process, were adopted at public 4-year institutions in Washington State. Other states have adopted similar race-neutral policies as well as top percent plans in which the top X% of graduates from each high school are automatically awarded admission to public 4-year institutions in that state. Evaluations of these policies demonstrate mixed results. Successful policies have assisted universities in recovering from sharp declines in the participation of minority students following bans on affirmative action, but have failed to result in any further gains. Universities that have implemented race-neutral policies that have increased the participation of minority students are also in states with shifting demographics. Increases in the participation of minority students at universities in these states can be entirely explained by an increasing presence of minorities in the general population.

Race-neutral policies focused on the admissions process have failed to increase the participation of minority students at public 4-year institutions. However multiple points at which to increase the participation of minority students exist. Approaches targeted at increasing the number of applications received from minority students and altering admissions policies to increase the number of accepted minority applicants have failed to significantly increase the participation of minority students at public 4-year institutions. Earlier interventions that focus on the college readiness of minority students will increase the pool of competitive applicants for admission to universities. In order to address inequities in the participation of minority students at universities in Washington State I recommend that the Washington State Commission on African American Affairs:

- **Advise the Governor, legislature, and state agencies to focus efforts on increasing the college readiness of underrepresented students in order to increase student diversity at public 4-year institutions in the state.**
- **Conduct further research on developmental approaches and college readiness programs.**

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

Throughout the history of the United States specific groups have experienced overt discrimination and unequal treatment on the basis of their race, ethnicity, or gender. Affirmative Action policies seek to remedy this situation. They have historically been used in three distinct areas: employment, the awarding of public contracts, and in higher education, the focus of this research. Examples of affirmative action policies in higher education include increased and targeted recruitment of minority individuals, as well as preference given to minority individuals in admissions and financial aid award decisions.

Three broad rationales currently exist that give reasons for either maintaining or eliminating affirmative action policies in higher education. Support for affirmative action falls into two broad categories, a diversity rationale and a “remedial rationale” (Yossi et al, 2005). The diversity rationale asserts that the learning environment is enriched and students are better prepared for work in a “globalized” world if they are educated in an environment with a diverse student body. Affirmative action policies are thus needed to create this diversity on college campuses. The “remedial rationale” asserts that affirmative action policies are needed to remedy past and current discrimination experienced by minority groups. The argument against affirmative action policies, the color-blind rationale, argues that race-neutral policies “ensure meritocratic, fair access to higher education” and eliminate “reverse discrimination” where minority candidates who do not meet certain criteria are given preference above white candidates who do meet the criteria (Yossi et al, 2005).

The use of race-conscious admission policies at higher education institutions is arguably the most visible and debated example of affirmative action policies. As affirmative action policies have continually come under attack, whether by legal court cases or by voter-approved bans, the impact on minority individuals at higher education institutions has been evidenced by decreases in the enrollments of minority students particularly at public 4-year institutions. This fall marks the ten year anniversary of the passage of Initiative 200 (I-200) in Washington State,

which eliminated the use of affirmative action policies in public higher education institutions in the state.

This research will examine trends in the undergraduate applications, admission, and enrollment of ethnic minority students at Washington's public 4-year institutions. The report will then address the use of alternative admissions programs in Washington and other states, creating an inventory of common policy responses to bans on affirmative action. Evaluations and critiques of the common policy responses will follow. Finally the report will offer recommendations applicable to Washington State.

Research Questions

By request of the Washington State Commission on African American Affairs this research addresses the following questions:

What changes have occurred in the participation rates of ethnic minority students at public 4-year colleges and universities in Washington State since the passage of I-200 for undergraduate programs?

What admissions programs seek to increase diversity and what alternative admissions programs are currently in use in Washington and other states?

What is the effectiveness of these programs for increasing participation rates of minority students in 4-year, public institutions in Washington and other states?

Chapter 2 – Research Purpose & Research Methods

This chapter provides context for the purpose of this research as well as an explanation of the research methodology used in the remainder of this report.

Research Purpose

The Washington State Commission on African American Affairs was created in Washington State by law in 1992, under RCW 43.113. The commission is a part of the executive branch, as it is directly appointed by and reports directly to the Governor. The commission is charged with the following duties:

1. examining and defining “issues pertaining to the rights and needs of African-Americans” and making recommendations for changes in programs and laws to the Governor and other state agencies;
 2. advising “the Governor and state agencies on the development and implementation of policies, plans, and programs that relate to the special needs of African-Americans;”
 3. acting with the governor, to “advise the Legislature on issues of concern to the African-American community;”
 4. “establishing relationships with state agencies, local governments, and private sector organizations that promote equal opportunity and benefits for African-Americans.”
- (Washington State Commission on African American Affairs, 2007)

Education is the top priority for the Commission. The Commission believes that education is “the most important challenge facing the Black community today” (WA State Commission on African American Affairs, 2007). On March 10, 2008, House Bill 2722 passed both the Washington State House of Representatives and the Washington State Senate. The passage of this bill is a victory for the Commission as the bill seeks to create a strategic plan in Washington State to address the achievement and opportunity gap for African-American youth. As enacted, the bill asserts that “of all the challenges facing the African-American community,

perhaps none is more critical than the education of African-American children. The data regarding inequities, disproportionality, and gaps in achievement is alarming no matter which indicators are used” (Washington State House Bill 2722, 2008).

The Washington State Higher Education Coordinating Board (HECB) recently released the 2008 Strategic Master Plan, a ten year strategic plan for higher education in Washington State. Before releasing this document the HECB held panels to obtain feedback from different constituencies on what concerns they felt the strategic master plan should address. The Commission on African American Affairs presented at one of the panels, addressing the concerns of the African American community. In the presentation the Commission raised concerns pertaining to a lack of data about issues that contribute to the lower performance of African American students at higher education institutions in the state, as well as the need for a holistic strategy linking K-12 education to higher education (WA State Commission on African American Affairs, “Response” 2007).

In light of the achievement gap and efforts to strategically address this issue, the commission is interested in gaining a better understanding of ethnic minorities in the context of a broader alternative admissions framework. For the purpose of this report, the term minority refers to both ethnic and racial minority. Alternative admissions programs refer to any program or policy at a higher education institution that uses a framework outside of the historical measures of grade point average and test scores in order to determine qualification for admission.

Research Methods

Research for this project consisted of three methodologies: data collection and trend analysis of application, admission, and enrollment of minority students at Washington's 4-year public universities; conducting a literature review; and interviews with individuals working in higher education in Washington State.

Data Collection

To assess the impact of Initiative 200 as well as to gain a better understanding of trends in the participation of minority students at Washington public universities since the passage of I-200 ten years ago, I gathered data from all 4-year public institutions in the state. They include:

- the University of Washington,
- Washington State University,
- Central Washington University,
- Eastern Washington University,
- Western Washington University, and
- the Evergreen State College.

Data was provided specifically for this project by Institutional Research Offices at each university or was gathered from university websites. Data included application, admission, and enrollment of students disaggregated by race/ethnicity in undergraduate education for each university for the years 1998 to the most recent available data.

Data Limitations

Some discrepancies in the data exist as some universities were not able to supply the data requested. Limitations on the data available were due to changes in how universities gathered and stored data over the ten year time period, resulting in incompatibility between data storage programs and loss of data, as well as a simple lack of available data disaggregated by ethnicity prior to the early 2000's. Other possible data limitations include increases in the number of students that chose not to report their race or ethnicity on college admissions applications after implementation of Initiative 200 and changes in the racial and ethnic categories used by universities.

Application and admission data prior to 2001 is not disaggregated by race or ethnicity for the Evergreen State College (Evergreen). Furthermore the number and proportion of minority students that apply, gain admission, and enroll at Evergreen is so small that no clear trend exists,

thus it is not included in the trends in enrollment analysis. Eastern Washington University only supplied fourth quarter application and admission data for the year of 1998, however as the majority of applications have historically been received in the fourth quarter of each year this limitation should have a minimal effect on the analysis. Central Washington University only supplied application and admission data for 2005 through 2007, thus the university is excluded from the analysis on trends in application and admission of minority students.

Literature Review

The purpose of the literature review is threefold: to develop a background and overview of affirmative action policies and the participation of minority students in higher education, to assess the impact of state bans on affirmative action at public 4-year institutions in those states, and to review and determine the success of alternative admissions policies and programs that have been implemented in Washington and other states that have banned affirmative action. This review is one critical component in the development of an inventory of alternative admissions programs and an assessment of their effectiveness in increasing the participation of minority students at public 4-year institutions.

Semi-Structured Interviews

I conducted semi-structured interviews with university officials from public 4-year institutions in the state. Through these interviews I gained a better understanding of the current state of student diversity on college campuses in Washington State, the existence of race-neutral programs that seek to increase diversity on college campuses in Washington and other states, and the effectiveness of such programs. I also sought to find policies that could be developed and implemented to increase student diversity at public 4-year institutions in Washington State. This research allowed me to discover alternative admissions programs and policies not found in the literature review and gain better insight into the current state of student diversity on college campuses from practitioners in the field.

Chapter 3 – Background & Current Context

This chapter provides a brief history of affirmative action including a summary of recent state implemented bans on affirmative action. It then offers a broader framework in which to understand the current trends in the participation of minority students in higher education. The chapter then provides an overview of admissions standards and policies at all public 4-year institutions in Washington State.

Affirmative Action: A Brief History

A product of the Civil Rights Movement and the War on Poverty, affirmative action has been a widely debated policy since its inception in the 1960's. In 1964 the Civil Rights Act was signed into law, barring discrimination based on race and in 1965 President Lyndon B. Johnson issued Executive Order 11246 the Equal Employment Opportunity Order (Mickelson, 2002). This order mandated the use of affirmative action in the hiring and employing of minorities in firms with government contracts, including both government contracting agencies and private companies that contracted with the government. In this regard affirmative action was related to the recruitment of applicants from all groups and not that of preferential treatment in selection, the meaning that it has come to hold. President Johnson's speech at Howard University captures the sentiment behind this order:

"You do not take a person who for years has been hobbled by chains, and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line, and then say, 'you are free to compete with all the others' and still justly believe you have been completely fair... This is the next and more profound stage of the battle for civil rights. We seek not just freedom but opportunity-not legal equity but human ability-not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and as a result." (Wade et al, 2004)

As a remedy for past discriminatory practices, including the lack of fair consideration given many women and ethnic and racial minorities, affirmative action policies originally sought to increase recruitment of individuals from minority groups. The Secretary of Labor was assigned the determination of rules surrounding implementation of the Executive Order and enforcement of nondiscrimination by government contractors (Fullinwider, 2005). As the order only applied to government contractors, the use of affirmative action in higher education in both the hiring of faculty and the admission of students was slow in implementation and expansion.

The courts have scrutinized the legality of affirmative action policies since the very implementation of the policy. The rulings on these numerous court cases have further defined the use and scope of affirmative action policies in higher education. These cases ranged from the use of affirmative action to desegregate universities in the South and other border states, to its use in the hiring of faculty, to the use of affirmative action in college admissions and financial aid decisions (Mickelson, 2002).

Affirmative Action Policies under Attack

Throughout the evolution of its application in higher education affirmative action has met with many opponents and supporters. Beginning in 1996 the use of affirmative action has been decided in some states by public opinion through ballot measures and executive order, as well as through the interpretation of specific court rulings. While the University of California Regents implemented a ban on the use of affirmative action in admissions decisions that was to begin in the 1997-1998 fiscal year, California citizens expanded this ban to all public institutions in the state and hastened its implementation. The citizens of California, with the passage of Proposition 209 in 1996, effectively banned the use of affirmative action in college admissions and financial aid decisions at public institutions in the state as well as eliminated a number of assistance programs targeted at individuals on the basis of sex, race, or ethnicity (California Secretary of State Legislative Analyst, 1996).

The state of Washington followed suit in 1998 with the passage of Initiative 200, which contained much of the same language as Proposition 209. Initiative 200 passed with 58 percent

of the vote. Many believed that this was the beginning of a “nationwide movement to scrap affirmative action” (Fryer, 2002). As passed into law, Initiative 200 states that:

“Washington state shall not discriminate against, or grant preferential treatment to, any individual or group on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin in the operation of public employment, public education, or public contracting.”

In 1996 the Attorney General of the state of Texas interpreted the ruling of the Fifth Federal Circuit Court of Appeals on the *Hopwood vs. Texas* case as a “ban on race-based admissions, financial aid, and recruiting policies,” effectively banning the use of affirmative action at public institutions in the state (Long, 2007). Since the passage of I-200 Florida, Georgia, and Michigan have all eliminated the use of affirmative action in college admissions decisions (Long, 2007).

In 2000 Florida’s government banned the use of affirmative action in government contracts and college admissions decisions at public institutions. Governor Jeb Bush introduced the ban originally as an Executive Order that applied only to the awarding of state contracts. The state’s independently elected cabinet voted to approve the measure and expanded it to college admissions decisions with subsequent approval of the “One Florida” plan (“Florida,” 2000). After multiple court cases against the University of Michigan, in November 2006 Michigan voters approved a referendum amending the state’s constitution to eliminate the use of affirmative action in public employment, public education, and public contracting. Proposal 2 passed with a 16 percent margin, winning over 58 percent of the popular vote (Jaschik, 2006). In *Johnson vs. Board of Regents* the use of affirmative action in admissions policies at the University of Georgia was struck down by the court, resulting in a ban on the use of affirmative action at the university in 2001 (Fox, 2004).

In the current political environment public higher education institutions that continue to use affirmative action policies probably will continue to face court cases questioning the legality

of such policies. Initiatives similar to those already passed in California, Washington, and Michigan will be on the ballot in Missouri, Arizona, Oklahoma, Nebraska, and Colorado in November of 2008 (Schmidt, 2007).

The Current Context

This section will lay out a broader framework in which to better understand the current state of student diversity on college campuses in Washington State. This includes shifting demographic trends, the participation of minority students in undergraduate education in the United States as a whole, and finally the participation of minority students in undergraduate education in Washington State. The chapter then provides an overview of current admissions policies and requirements for each public 4-year institution in the state.

Washington State Demographics

Washington State's population has increased from 4,866,700 in 1990 to 6,488,000 in 2007 (State of Washington Office of Financial Management, 2007). The population of ethnic minorities in Washington State is increasing, and is expected to continue increasing far into the future. Examination of the number of ethnic minorities in the population of Washington State shows large increases in all categories from 2000 to 2006 (See Table 1 below). It is estimated that by 2030 ethnic minorities will make up 32 percent of the population of Washington State, an increase from the current proportion of 23 percent (Washington Higher Education Coordinating Board, "Strategic"). Table 2 below presents projected increases in the Washington State population by 2030, disaggregated by race/ethnicity.

Table 1 Washington State Population

Race/Ethnicity	2000	2006	Percent Change
Caucasian	5,081,736	5,401,314	6.29
African American	199,174	228,077	14.51
American Indian & Alaskan Native	96,933	105,650	8.99
Asian & Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	355,805	445,543	25.22
Hispanic or Latino Origin	441,509	565,377	28.06
Two or More	160,473	195,016	21.53

Data gathered from 2007 Population Trends Report by the State of Washington Office of Financial Management.

Unfortunately the diversity found in Washington State's population is not reflected in the higher education institutions of the state, particularly the state's 4-year public institutions. The increasing numbers of minorities in the population is important to keep in mind when discussing the participation (including application, admission, and enrollment) of ethnic minorities in undergraduate education in Washington State. *Shifts in the demographic makeup of Washington State's population should logically affect the makeup of those attending higher education in the state.*

Table 2 Projected Washington State Populations

Race/Ethnicity	2010	2030	Percent Change
Caucasian	5,712,895	6,836,274	19.66
African American	246,165	317,817	29.11
American Indian & Alaskan Native	113,796	145,909	28.22
Asian & Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	516,347	825,234	59.82
Hispanic or Latino Origin	651,027	1,099,540	68.89
Two or More	222,013	419,481	88.94

Data gathered from Projections of the State Population by the State of Washington Office of Financial Management.

Participation of Ethnic Minorities in Undergraduate Education

General trends throughout the United States show an increase of over 1.5 million students or 50.7 percent in the enrollment of minority students at higher education institutions from 1993 to 2003. This total includes minorities' enrolled at all public and private, non-profit and for-profit, four-year and two-year institutions in the United States.¹ Over the same period enrollment of White students increased by only 344,000 students or 3.4 percent. Thus the expansion of enrollment in higher education institutions is in most part due to increases in minority enrollment. During this decade four-year institutions experienced slightly more growth in the enrollment of ethnic minorities than did two-year institutions, with the addition of 844,000 and 740,000 minority students respectively. Public institutions saw the largest numerical growth in the enrollment of minority students with an influx of 1.1 million students over the decade,

¹ Examples in Washington State for each category follow: public 4-year non-profit – University of Washington, public 2-year non-profit – Bellevue Community College, private 4-year non-profit – Gonzaga University, private 4-year and 2-year for-profit – ITT Technical Institute.

although the sector with the highest rate of increase was for-profit institutions with a growth rate in the enrollment of minority students at 342 percent (Cook et al, 2006).

In Washington State

In the state of Washington, ethnic minority students including those from African American, American Indian, and Hispanic backgrounds are less likely to reach each level of educational attainment beginning with high school graduation. Those students from Asian or Pacific Islander backgrounds are just as likely, and often more likely, than White students to achieve each level of educational attainment. Out of all public high school students in Washington State 17 percent do not graduate. For African American, Native American, and Hispanic students 27 to 36 percent will not graduate from high school. Of those minority students that graduate from high school and continue directly to postsecondary education, one-half will enroll in remedial courses (WA State Higher Education Coordinating Board, 2001).

While 52 percent of all high school freshmen will enroll in postsecondary education or training five years later, only 40 percent of African American, 36 percent of Hispanic, and 32 percent of Native American high school freshmen will do so. Completion rates for these minority groups are also lower than the rates for Whites and Asian/Pacific Islanders at four-year public institutions. Comparative degree completion rates at four-year public institutions are 45 percent of African American students, 53 percent of Hispanic students, 49 percent of Native American students, 60 percent of White students, and 64 percent of Asian/Pacific Islander students (WA HECB, 2001). In Washington State the enrollment in higher education and degree completion of African American, Native American, and Hispanic students is lower than the percentage of 17-39 year olds with these backgrounds in the general population. This difference becomes greater when considering only 4-year public institutions and excluding community and technical colleges in the state (WA HECB, 2001).²

² Note that some discrepancies exist with the data as the general trends of ethnic minority participation in higher education in the United States uses a college-going age range from 17-24 years old, gathered from the American Council on Education Minorities in Higher Education Annual Status Report, while data specific to the state of Washington uses a college-going age range of 17-39 years old, gathered from the Washington State Higher Education Coordinating Board report on Diversity in Washington Higher Education.

Admissions Requirements

The Washington State public postsecondary education system consists of 34 community and technical colleges throughout the state, as well as six public 4-year institutions. The three regional schools are Central Washington University located in Ellensburg, Eastern Washington University located in Cheney, and Western Washington University in Bellingham. The Evergreen State College is a progressive, public liberal arts college located in Olympia. Washington State University is the state's land grant research university, located in Pullman. The University of Washington is the state's premiere research university, as well as the state's flagship institution, it is located in Seattle. Admissions requirements for all public 4-year institutions are discussed below.

According to statute, the Washington Higher Education Coordinating Board (HEC Board) is required to determine minimum college admission standards for all of the state's public 4-year institutions. With the understanding that each institution will "accept or reject applicants based on the merit of their applications" (WA HECB, "Minimum" Pg. 1). Admission standards set by the HEC Board represent minimum levels of educational attainment and proficiency that students must achieve in order to gain admission to public universities in the state, however meeting these requirements does not guarantee admission. Standards include required courses that students must take in high school, a minimum grade point average, the completion of either the ACT or SAT, and the achievement of a specific Admissions Index (AI) Score. The Admissions Index "is a probability of success indicator that takes into account high school GPA and standardized test scores" (CWU Application Packet, 6). The required AI score for admission to the state's regional campuses, Central, Eastern, and Western, as well as the Evergreen State College is lower than that required for admission to Washington State University and the University of Washington, see Table 3 below.

Table 3: Washington State Higher Education Coordinating Board Minimum Admissions Standards

	Current Standards	2012 Standards
English	4 years; including three years of literature and composition	4 credits; including three credits of literature and composition, may include 1 credit of elective English or ESL
Mathematics	3 years; including algebra, geometry and advanced math	3 credits; at least 1 credit completed senior year, including 1 credit each of algebra, and intermediate algebra or equivalent
Science	2 years; including 1 year of lab science	2 credits of lab science; including 1 credit of algebra-based biology, chemistry, or physics
World Languages	2 years of the same foreign language, Native American language, or American Sign language	2 credits of the same foreign language, Native American language, or American Sign language
Social Science	3 years of social science	3 credits of social science
Arts	1 year of fine, visual, or performing arts or elective from other required subject area	1 credit of fine, visual or performing arts, or 1 additional credit of math, English, social science, lab science, or world languages
Minimum Grade Point Average	Minimum unweighted cumulative grade point average 2.0 on a 4.0 scale	Minimum unweighted cumulative grade point average 2.0 on a 4.0 scale
Admissions Index	Achieve a minimum score of at least 13 at CWU, EWU, WWU, and the Evergreen State College; and at least 28 at WSU and UW	Eliminate Admissions Index requirement
Required Tests	SAT or ACT	SAT or ACT; or petition for waiver

Adapted from Washington Higher Education Coordinating Board, Minimum College Admission Standards 2007.

Beyond the minimum level set by the HEC Board each university develops its own admissions standards. While all universities in the state follow the core course requirements developed by the HEC Board, the required Admissions Index score vary widely from the minimum standards above. All of the public universities suggest students submit a personal statement or an essay addressing questions pertaining to a variety of topics. Each university also suggests that students take higher level coursework than minimum admissions standards require, as well as Advanced Placement or International Baccalaureate courses. As each university does not have the enrollment spaces available to admit all students that meet the minimum admissions

requirements, admission at each institution is selective and selection criteria above minimum requirements may vary from quarter to quarter depending on the availability of enrollment spaces (WA HECB, “Minimum”).

As a regional university and a less selective institution, Central Washington University’s admissions standards include the requirement that applicants take the courses listed above, obtain a 3.0 or higher cumulative grade point average, take the SAT or ACT, and achieve a 13 or higher Admissions Index score (CWU Admissions). Eastern Washington University requires adequate completion of the minimum course requirements from the HEC Board as well as a minimum Admissions Index score of 25 (EWU Admissions). Both Central and Eastern do not have a personal statement or essay requirement if minimum admissions requirements are met. However, if these requirements are not met an essay addressing certain questions and a resume of personal achievements are required in order to be considered under the “Comprehensive Review” process described below (CWU Admissions & EWU Admissions). Western Washington University does not publish a required minimum grade point average or Admissions Index score, although the Fall 2007 entering freshmen class had an average high school grade point average of 3.5 and an average SAT score of 1107 (WWU Quick Facts, 2007). Western requests an activities list or resume and requires applicants answer at least one of three essay questions (WWU Admissions).

Washington State University's admissions requirements include completion of the courses listed above. The university encourages students to take more rigorous coursework including Advanced Placement classes. The university requires a minimum grade point average of 3.4, and a personal statement in which students highlight their achievements and interests (WSU Admissions). Above standards set forth by the HEC Board, the Evergreen State College requires a minimum Admissions Index score of 25 for admission, in 2005 the average Admissions Index score of students admitted to the university was 38. Evergreen also requests, but does not require, a personal statement in which students are asked to discuss their academic preparation, educational and career goals, and how attending Evergreen will help them achieve those goals (Evergreen Admissions Application).

The University of Washington admission requirements include adequate completion of the courses in the HEC Board's minimum standards, as well as encouraging students to take more difficult coursework including Advanced Placement and International Baccalaureate classes. UW also requires applicants to complete an activities log, personal statement, and a short essay. The university uses an "individualized application review," after ensuring that students meet basic requirements in coursework and have a 2.0 grade point average or higher, each application and essay is reviewed by readers (UW Admissions, "Freshmen Review" Pg. 1). This process is similar to the process more often used at smaller, private 4-year institutions. Admissions at the University of Washington is more selective and places a higher emphasis on the quality of curriculum pursued by the student and the student's personal statement than at other public, 4-year institutions in the state (UW Admissions, "Application").

At 4-year public universities in Washington State two similar types of alternative admissions programs exist. These programs take factors beyond grade point average, courses taken, and standardized test scores into consideration in the admissions process. Three universities, Western Washington University, Washington State University, and the University of Washington employ a "Holistic Review" in the admissions process, described in detail below (Karl Smith, personal communication, April 22, 2008). While Eastern Washington University, Central Washington University, and the Evergreen State College employ a "Comprehensive Review" process only if applicants do not meet initial eligibility requirements, described below (Emily Washines, personal communication, April 14, 2008).

At the University of Washington students are evaluated on grades and tests scores, "but also with regard to life experiences and opportunities and the overall diversity they bring to the campus, among other criteria" (McCormick, 11). Students write a personal statement which gives them the opportunity to discuss aspects of their lives not apparent in other application materials. The short essay requirement allows students to specifically address "aspects of [their] background or experience that would enrich the racial, ethnic, cultural, or educational diversity of the University community" (McCormick, 11). Similar personal statements are required at

Western Washington University and at Washington State University, these responses are utilized in the “Holistic Review” process (“Washington State Public College Admissions,” 2007).

The “Holistic Review” process employed by each university includes consideration of the following factors:

- positive grade trends, taking challenging coursework, taking coursework beyond minimum requirements;
- leadership, school activities, and a commitment to community service;
- demonstrated cultural awareness;
- significant responsibility for family, in employment, community, or “through activities;”
- economic or educational disadvantage;
- demonstrated unique perspective, background, or experiences;
- overcoming significant “personal adversity, economic disadvantage, or disability;”
- demonstrated “exceptional artistic talent or achievement;”
- demonstrated “notable tenacity, insight, originality, or creativity” (UW Admissions, “Freshmen Review”; “Washington State Public College Admission,” 2007).

The “Comprehensive Review” process employed by EWU, CWU, and the Evergreen State College differs from the “Holistic Review” process. Students that do not initially gain admission to the university because they fail to meet minimum admissions requirements including completion of required high school coursework or a minimum Admission Index score, have the opportunity to be considered for admission under the “Comprehensive Review” process. This process requires an essay response that asks students to address their academic or educational goals, what students will do to meet those goals or ensure their academic success, how attending the university will assist students in meeting academic goals, and experiences that have influenced the student’s previous academic success (“Washington State Public College Admission,” 2007). Applications are reviewed on an individual basis. In the review process at Central Washington University grade trends are examined in light of information from the personal statement that could affect a student’s academic achievement, including the student’s

experience of a traumatic event such as homelessness or the loss of a parent (Emily Washines, personal communication, April 14, 2008).

Chapter 4 – Literature Review

This chapter provides an overview of relevant literature related to the advantages afforded minority applicants in the college admissions process under affirmative action as well as changes in the participation of minority students at public 4-year institutions following bans on affirmative action.

Minority Applicant Advantage under Affirmative Action

A review of literature regarding the preference given to minority candidates under affirmative action policies reveals that minority students were given the largest degree of advantage at selective and top-tier institutions (Kane 1996; National Association for College Admission Counseling, 2003; Espenshade et al, 2004; Long, 2004; Long, 2007). It is important to note that in the studies cited below, more selective institutions are defined as either schools that admit 50 percent or fewer of their applicants or schools that are ranked higher using “an index that combines the median SAT and median ACT of their freshmen class” (Long 2004, 1022). All studies cited below exclude Asian Americans from their definition of minority students due to their historically high participation in postsecondary education and most exclude Native American students from their definition of minority students due to their low numbers and historically low participation in postsecondary education.

In one of his many articles on the subject, Thomas Kane (1996) uses the High School and Beyond longitudinal survey in order to determine the advantage given to minority students under affirmative action policies. Holding characteristics such as test scores, grades, high school activities, family income, and parental education constant Kane estimated “the effect of race and ethnicity on the likelihood of being admitted to various types of colleges” (Kane, 976). He found that in students with similar credentials, African American and Hispanic students were more likely than White students to gain admission to the schools that they applied to at 2.1 percent and 2.2 percent respectively. Average Hispanic or African American students were 8 to 10 percent more likely to be admitted at the most selective institutions than were their White counterparts.

Kane concludes that “racial preference is confined to 'elite' colleges and universities, namely, the most academically selective fifth of all four-year institutions” (Kane, 972). At less selective institutions Kane concluded that an applicant's race or ethnicity gave them almost no advantage in admissions decisions (Kane, 1996).

According to a 2003 report by the National Association for College Admission Counseling, the preference given to students in admission's decisions are greatest at the most academically selective institutions. These preferences include advantages given to athletes, children of alumni, and African American or Hispanic applicants. This follows from previous surveys administered by NACAC that found “more selective institutions place as much or more emphasis on all factors in the admissions process than less selective institutions” (NACAC, xii).

A 2004 study by Mark Long determines the magnitude of preference given to minority candidates under affirmative action using data from the National Education Longitudinal Study. A cursory examination of the data showed that African American, Hispanic, and Native American students sent a higher proportion of their applications to less selective institutions. A number of variables are considered including test scores, sex, race/ethnicity, family income, among various others. Using these variables a regression analysis determines the probability of acceptance given certain combinations of variables. Long finds that African American and Hispanic students have “a significantly higher chance of being accepted than White students with similar characteristics” (Long, 2004 Pg. 1024). No significant difference exists between the chance of acceptance for Asian American and White students. Long also estimates the effect of eliminating affirmative action in admission's decisions, finding that at colleges in the top decile the number of African American, Hispanic, and Native American students accepted would drop by 27 percent (Long, 2004). A study cited by Long, conducted by Bowen and Bok (1998) found that “under a race-neutral policy, the probability of admission for Black applicants would fall from 42 percent to 13 percent” at highly selective institutions (Long, 2004 Pg. 1027).

Card and Krueger (2005) study the effects of eliminating affirmative action on highly qualified minority candidates. Before the passage of Proposition 209 in California, a relatively

high fraction of minority students were admitted under an alternative admissions system, a system different from that using the standard high school grade point average and standardized test scores. Twenty-three percent of African American freshmen enrollees and 11 percent of Hispanic freshmen enrollees were admitted under the separate system, while only 2 percent of White and Asian American freshmen enrollees were admitted under this same system. At the most selective institutions in California and Texas, University of California Berkeley, University of California Los Angeles, Texas A&M, and University of Texas Austin, African American and Hispanic “candidates had higher admission rates than other groups in 1995” (Card et al, 419). Card and Krueger find that in California and Texas the preference given to African American and Hispanic applicants under affirmative action was most visible at the elite institutions (Card et al, 2005). Similarly in his 2007 study Mark Long finds that flagship public universities in states that have banned affirmative action have been the most predominantly affected by those bans (Long, 2007).

Espenshade, Chung, and Walling study admission preferences under affirmative action policies at three highly selective private research universities in the 1980's and 1990's. They use data from the National Study of College Experience that includes a variety of applicant characteristics, whether the applicant was accepted, whether the applicant enrolled, as well as information about financial aid the student was awarded and the student's academic performance in college. Using this data they find that African American and Hispanic applicants were admitted at higher rates than White and Asian American applicants. African American applicants were 5.5 times and Hispanic applicants were 3.7 times more likely than comparable White students to gain admission. Espenshade et al observe that African American, Hispanic, and Native American applicants receive an advantage in admissions decisions especially after SAT test scores are controlled for, this observation is corroborated by studies by Bowen and Bok (1998) and Shulman and Bowen (2001). They also estimate that eliminating affirmative action would reduce African American and Hispanic applicants' probability of admission by 21.5 and 13.9 percentage points, respectively (Espenshade et al, 2004).

In a 2005 study Alon and Tienda argue that the increasing demand for a postsecondary

education, caused both by children of the baby boomer's reaching college age and the increasing need for a college education in obtaining higher earnings, has caused a shift in universities admission's policies. In 2003 the most selective universities in the United States, those that admit fewer than 50 percent of applicants, received more than 25 percent of the total 4-year college applications. These universities are selecting students for admission "from a surplus of high quality applicants" (Alon et al, 487). In this atmosphere of an increasing supply of admissions slots that has not kept pace with large increases in demand, selective universities have shifted towards placing higher emphasis on test scores in admission's decisions, what Alon and Tienda refer to as "the shifting meritocracy in higher education" (Alon et al, 494). Concurrently these institutions have sought to increase the diversity of their student body. Due to their lower scores on standardized tests such as the SAT and ACT as well as the increased emphasis on test scores in admission decisions, African American and Hispanic students were given preferences. Alon and Tienda assert that "poor students, among who blacks and Hispanics are overrepresented, average lower test scores than their wealthy and nonminority counterparts because they are significantly more likely to attend underperforming, resource-poor schools" (Alon et al, 491). Consequently they are also underrepresented at 4-year institutions, especially more selective institutions, therefore in order to achieve diversity race-sensitive admissions criteria are needed. According to a study cited by Alon and Tienda, fewer than 2 percent of admitted students would be African American if selective institutions based their admissions decisions entirely on test scores (Alon et al, 2005).

Using data from the High School and Beyond survey, the National Education Longitudinal Survey, the College and Beyond restricted database containing institutional data files about students, as well as data from the University of Texas at Austin, Alon and Tienda analyze two student cohorts overtime to examine hypotheses relating to affirmative action and "the shifting meritocracy in higher education" (Alon et al, 494). Alon and Tienda find that White and Asian American students were more likely to attend postsecondary education than were African American and Hispanic students. Hispanic students particularly benefited from expansion of community colleges in the 1980's, as the share of Hispanic students enrolling in community colleges increased from 31 percent in 1982 to over 50 percent in 1992. African

American students were the most likely to attend non-selective 4-year institutions, due to their overwhelming enrollment in Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). After excluding HBCUs from the analysis, in order to determine the preferences given to African American students at predominantly White institutions, they find that “more selective institutions [are the] most likely to use race preferences to diversify their student bodies” (Alon et al, 496). In the 1982 cohort African American and Hispanic students were more likely than White students to enroll in the more selective institutions by 2.8 and 1.3 times, respectively. In the 1992 cohort African American and Hispanic students were 4.1 and 1.5 times more likely to enroll in the more selective institutions than were White students. This shows the increasing use of race preferences overtime at more selective institutions in order to diversify their student body (Alon et al, 2005).

The literature reviewed thus far reveals some themes that are important to keep in mind when examining trends in application, admission, and enrollment of undergraduate minority students in Washington State. These include the following:

- minority students are less likely to pursue postsecondary education, and are more likely to attend less selective institutions if they do so;
- minority students send a higher proportion of their applications to less selective institutions;
- minority students were given the largest degree of advantage at selective and top-tier institutions;
- studies estimate that the elimination of affirmative action would decrease the acceptance of minority students at more selective institution by up to 30 percent.

Effects of Affirmative Action Bans

As the first state to ban the use of affirmative action by public institutions, the effects on public 4-year institutions in California have been studied extensively. The postsecondary education system in California is unique in the nation as it is a three-tiered system, each tier relates directly to the difficulty of obtaining entrance into higher education institutions in that

tier. California community colleges make up the lowest tier, California State University is the second tier institution, and finally the University of California is the highest tier institution. The system is also unique in that there are only two public 4-year institutions in the state, each with a number of campuses geographically dispersed throughout the state (California Postsecondary Education Commission, 2008). Following from conclusions reached above regarding higher preferences given to minority candidates at more selective institutions, the most selective campuses of the University of California should have the largest effects of an elimination of affirmative action policies. Thus I reviewed a number of studies pertaining to changes in application, admission, and enrollment of minority students in the University of California system after the passage of Proposition 209 in 1996.

A 2003 report by Nina Robinson examines the implementation of race-neutral policies in undergraduate admissions at the University of California system campuses. Robinson examines trends in underrepresented minority, African American, Hispanic, and American Indian, undergraduate participation from 1995 to 2002. Even before implementation of the ban on affirmative action the number of applications from African American, Hispanic, and American Indian students dropped with the announcement of a future ban on race-conscious admissions practices. This drop in applications translated into an immediate reduction in the number and proportion of minority students enrolled in the University of California system. Following implementation of the ban on affirmative action the decline in admission rates and enrollment of minority students increased on all campuses (Robinson, 2003). In fact “the proportion of underrepresented students in the admitted class dropped on every campus, and by more than 50 percent at UC Berkeley and UCLA,” the most selective campuses in the system (Robinson, 4). This drop in minority students admitted to these campuses is greater than the previously estimated effect of up to 30 percent declines in the acceptance of minority students after affirmative action bans.

While downward trends in application, admission, and enrollment of minority students began to reverse by 1999 at most University of California campuses, preliminary counts in 2003 for applications establish the first year that the proportion of minority applicants exceed those in

1995. However, increases in application rates since 1999 are consistent with demographic changes occurring in California and specifically in the high school graduates of the state. At UC Riverside and UC San Diego by 2002 minority students represented a larger proportion of the applicant pool than they did in 1995, prior to the ban on affirmative action (Robinson, 2003). Upon implementation of race-neutral admission policies the admission rates of minority students decreased at all campuses, with larger decreases at the more selective campuses. Admission rates for minority students fell by more than 20 percentage points at UC Berkeley, UC Davis, and UC San Diego and by more than 15 percentage points at UCLA and UC Santa Barbara. Since 1998 admission rates for minority students have continued to fall below 1998 levels, with the exception of UC Berkeley and UC San Diego, due to continuing increases in the number of applications each campus receives each year and failure of the capacity of institutions to keep pace with growth in applications. The decision to enroll in an institution is related to student behavior, it reflects the attractiveness of the institution to the student compared to other offers the student may have. Thus Robinson equates the overall decline in enrollment rates of minority applicants to be the effect of increased selectivity at most of the UC campuses from 1996 to 2002 (Robinson, 2003).

According to a former president of the University of California, Richard Atkinson:

“In 1995, before Proposition 209 took effect, underrepresented minority students accounted for 38 percent of California high school graduates and 21 percent of entering University of California freshmen, a difference of 17 percent. In 2004, they made up 45 percent of high school graduates but had fallen to 18 percent of incoming UC freshmen, a difference of 27 percent.” (Kaufmann, 5)

UC Berkeley and UCLA, the more selective campuses, saw even larger declines than the overall University of California system. In 1995 the proportion of African American students enrolled as entering freshmen at UC Berkeley and UCLA combined was 6.6 percent while in 2004 it was only 3 percent. The percentage of Hispanic students attending the University of California declined following implementation of Proposition 209, although in 2001 this trend reversed. The

percentage of Hispanic students admitted to the University of California has reached pre-Proposition 209 levels; although this has occurred in the context of a rapidly increasing Hispanic population in the state. “The percentage of Native American students enrolled in the UC system dropped 38 percent from 1997 to 2006 and has not been increasing” (Kaufmann, 5). Enrollment of minority students at California State University also fell following the passage of Proposition 209, although to a much lesser extent than at the University of California (Kaufmann, 2007).

A similar report produced by the Ralph J. Bunche Center for African American Studies in 2002 studied trends in admission and enrollment of minority undergraduate students with a focus on African American students from 1997 to 2002. This report found that acceptance rates among African American applicants at the University of California Berkeley dropped by almost 30 percentage points from 1997 to 2002, similarly drops occurred at the Davis, San Diego, and Santa Barbara campuses. Following implementation of Proposition 209, the enrollment of African American freshmen declined by 24 percentage points between 1997 and 1998. At UC Berkeley specifically, African American enrollment declined by 51 percent while overall freshmen enrollment increased by 5 percent (Teranishi, 2002). The University of California Los Angeles experienced “the most significant drop in the number of [California] high school graduates admitted,” out of all of the University of California campuses (Teranishi, 4). The Bunche report attributes increases in the enrollment of minority students at the University of California after 1999 to significant increases in the enrollment of Hispanic students, which rose from 2,498 in 1998 to 4,222 in 2002. Native American enrollment at the University of California has stayed relatively stagnant since 1997 (Teranishi, 2002).

A 2008 study by Saul Geiser and Kyra Caspary examines the college destinations of “no-shows,” students that apply and are admitted to the University of California but do not choose to enroll at the university (396). Geiser and Caspary use data from the National Student Clearinghouse in order to track where students, with a particular focus on minority students, attend from 1997 to 2002. They find that the University of California has been very successful at enrolling the top-third of all students who apply and are admitted to the university. This rate has remained largely unchanged at 64 percent for the five years from 1997 to 2002. However among

minority students in the top-third of the admit pool the enrollment rate fluctuates from a low of 48 percent to a high of almost 57 percent over this same period. These students are more likely to enroll at a private selective institution than their White counterparts, the reason for which Geiser and Caspary believe is the continued use of affirmative action policies in admissions and financial aid award decisions at private institutions (Geiser et al, 2008). Interestingly the top college destination for all “no-shows” is the University of Southern California while the top college destination for top minority students that are “no-shows” is Stanford University, both private and highly selective institutions (Geiser et al, 402). Of all students that applied to the University of California Berkeley and Los Angeles campuses that were denied admission the majority enroll at another UC campus, fluctuating between almost 55 percent to 61.5 percent from 1997 to 2002. However this masks substantial variation between different racial and ethnic groups. Of the top applicants that were African American, Hispanic, or Native American that were denied admission at UC Berkeley and UCLA, 58.5 percent choose to attend other colleges and universities. The proportion of these students that chose to attend a private selective institution increased by over ten percent from 14.1 percent in 1997 to 24.4 percent in 2002. However all of this is in light of the fact that less than 10 percent of those who rank within the top one third of the UC applicant pool are Latino, African American, or American Indian, although these groups comprise more than 40 percent of California high school graduates (Geiser et al, 405).

The state of Texas became the second state to ban affirmative action in 1997, following the Fifth Federal Circuit Court of Appeals ruling on the *Hopwood* case. In a 2003 study of Princeton University's Office of Population Research working paper series, lead researcher Marta Tienda and others examine admissions and enrollments of minority students before and after affirmative action. Tienda uses administrative records from the University of Texas at Austin and Texas A&M in order to determine the effects of affirmative action bans and the implementation of other policies such as the Top 10% Plan throughout the 1990's. The Top 10% Plan was implemented in Texas only a year after the ban on race-conscious admissions policies, thus the effects of it must be taken into account when examining the effects of the affirmative action ban. This plan sought to increase or at least maintain the diversity at public 4-year

institutions in the state of Texas. By guaranteeing admission to students whose grade point averages placed them in the top 10% of their high school graduating class, the plan was premised on the belief that public high schools remain largely segregated. Thus by admitting students from the top percent of each high school graduating class, it is presumed that the proportion of ethnic minorities at 4-year institutions would more nearly reflect the proportion in the general population (Tienda et al, 2003).

Demographic trends in Texas continue to show large increases in the proportion of Hispanics in the general population. By 2000 Whites ceased being a majority in the state, with the Hispanic share of the population growing from 32 to 40 percent in the 1990's and the White share of the population falling from 53 to 43 percent. The admission and enrollment rates of minority students have not kept pace with their increasing share in the general population, particularly in those of high school age range. Part of this may be explained by the persisting disparities in graduation rates between White and Hispanic students (Tienda et al, 2003). By 2000 the statewide graduation rate was 76 percent, while that of Hispanic students was not yet 50 percent. According to a study conducted by the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board in 1998, including data from just one year after implementation of the affirmative action ban, “the *Hopwood* decision has had a negative impact on the number of African-Americans and Hispanics applying for, being admitted to, and enrolling in the most prestigious and the most selective public higher education institutions and programs in Texas” (Tienda et al, 7). Implementation of the Top 10% Plan did little to change this trend, as the share of applicants graduating in the top ten percent of their high school class at the University of Texas remained unchanged after implementation and the number of applicants that did graduate in the top ten percent of their class at A&M actually declined by 2.8 percentage points (Tienda et al, 2003). Tienda finds this to be an “unremarkable” finding as “both flagships always weighed class rank heavily in their admissions decisions” even before implementation of the Top 10% Plan (Tienda et al, 9).

A discussion of trends in application, admission, and enrollment at UT Austin and Texas A&M follow. The share of applicants who were African American or Hispanic fell after the ban on affirmative action, while the share of Asian American applications increased. Similarly the

share of African American and Hispanic students admitted to both institutions fell in 1997, while the share of Asian Americans admitted increased by one half of a percentage point at Texas A&M and by 4.2 percentage points at UT Austin. The admission of White students remained relatively unchanged in 1997, thus increases in the share of Asian Americans admitted were the benefit of declines in the number of African American and Hispanic students admitted. The probability of enrollment for African American and Hispanic students at both institutions did not decline after *Hopwood*, somewhat offsetting the lower probability of admission for these students. Tienda posited that this was an effect of increased outreach to minority communities following the ban on affirmative action (Tienda et al, 2003).

A second study on the effects of the affirmative action ban in Texas following the *Hopwood* decision examines trends in applications of minority students to public 4-year institutions in the state. Lisa Dickson uses data from the Texas Education Agency as well as data from the SAT and ACT from 1994 to 2001 to track “who applies to college after the end of affirmative action” (110). Dickson uses the taking of a college admissions test, the SAT or ACT, as a proxy measure for the student's application to college. After running statistical regressions, she finds that the effect of ending affirmative action in Texas was a decline in the applications of Hispanic and African American Texas high school graduates at 1.6 and 2.1 percentage points, respectively. No significant effect existed for White Texas high school graduates. Comparing outcomes under affirmative action and the top percent plan show that after implementation of the percent plan the “percent of Hispanic high school graduates applying to college fell by 2.9 percentage points... the percent of black high school graduates applying to college fell by 2.7 percentage points” (Dickson, 116). Dickson's finding that affirmative action bans cause decreases in the application of minority students is corroborated by studies including those by Robinson (2003), Espenshade, Chung, and Walling (2004), and by a Hirschman and Brown (2007) study discussed below.

A 2007 study by Charles Hirschman and Susan Brown studies the effects of Initiative 200 in Washington on the transition from high school to college. Using data on high school enrollments from the Washington State Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction and the

data on college enrollment from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, Hirschman and Brown examined the transition of Washington high school seniors to freshmen at 4-year public institutions in the state. Overall about 1 in 5 high school seniors go on to a 4-year college the following year, for Asian American high school seniors the number is closer to 1 in 3. For other minority groups the number that attended a 4-year college the following year was 1 in 7. Hirschman and Brown find large declines in the number of minority freshmen entering 4-year institutions in Washington State between 1998 and 2000 (Hirschman et al, 2007). They found that “the impact of I-200 was registered almost entirely at the University of Washington” (Hirschman et al, 106). Hirschman and Brown find that this decrease was primarily due to declines in the number of ethnic minorities that applied to the university with only part of the decline due to changes in the admission rates of ethnic minorities. Hirschman and Brown equate this drop in applications to “a discouragement effect following the passage of I-200” (Hirschman et al, 123). They hypothesize that Initiative 200 eliminated a policy that “provided a welcoming and positive face on the prospect of attending UW,” which many students likely saw as a prestigious and impersonal educational environment (Hirschman et al, 125). An important finding from Hirschman and Brown’s study is that affirmative action can affect application rates of minority students and not simply admissions rates.

In 2006 the Washington Higher Education Coordinating Board released a report entitled “Diversity in Washington Higher Education.” This report was the culmination of comprehensive surveys of all public and private 2-year and 4-year institutions about “institutional diversity efforts,” as well as a series of forums and meetings with stakeholders (WA HECEB, 2006 Pg. 8). After the passage of Initiative 200 in 1998, the enrollment of most ethnic minority groups at public 4-year institutions in Washington State declined. Comparing enrollment rates of students in 1999, the first year to register the effects of I-200, to those in 1998 at all public higher education institutions in the state illustrates that while the enrollment of Asian American and White students continued at pre I-200 levels, the enrollment of other ethnic minorities fell. Of public high school graduates, the percentage of African American students who enrolled fell from 55 percent to 53 percent, Native American students who enrolled fell from 52 percent to 46 percent, and Hispanic students who enrolled fell from 50 percent to 46 percent (WA HECEB,

2006). It is important to note that this comparison includes all public institutions in the state, both 4-year and 2-year colleges and universities, while the focus of this research is only public 4-year institutions. As the impact of affirmative action bans are mostly registered at more selective institutions it is likely that research focused on 4-year public institutions would yield larger effects than those summarized above.

The literature reviewed above regarding the effects of affirmative action bans on application, admission, and enrollment offer a useful contextual framework when examining similar trends in Washington State following the passage of Initiative 200. Overarching effects of affirmative action bans on minority student participation at public 4-year institutions include the following:

- immediate declines in applications of minority students often before implementation of the ban on affirmative action;
- declines in the admission of minority students;
- declines in the proportion of minority students that choose to enroll at an institution even when they have been admitted
 - caused by either better financial aid award and admissions prospects at private institutions that continue to use affirmative action policies or the bans on affirmative action as a signal to minority students that they are unwelcome at public 4-year institutions;
- declines in all of the above are particularly pronounced at the flagship universities and more selective institutions in each state.

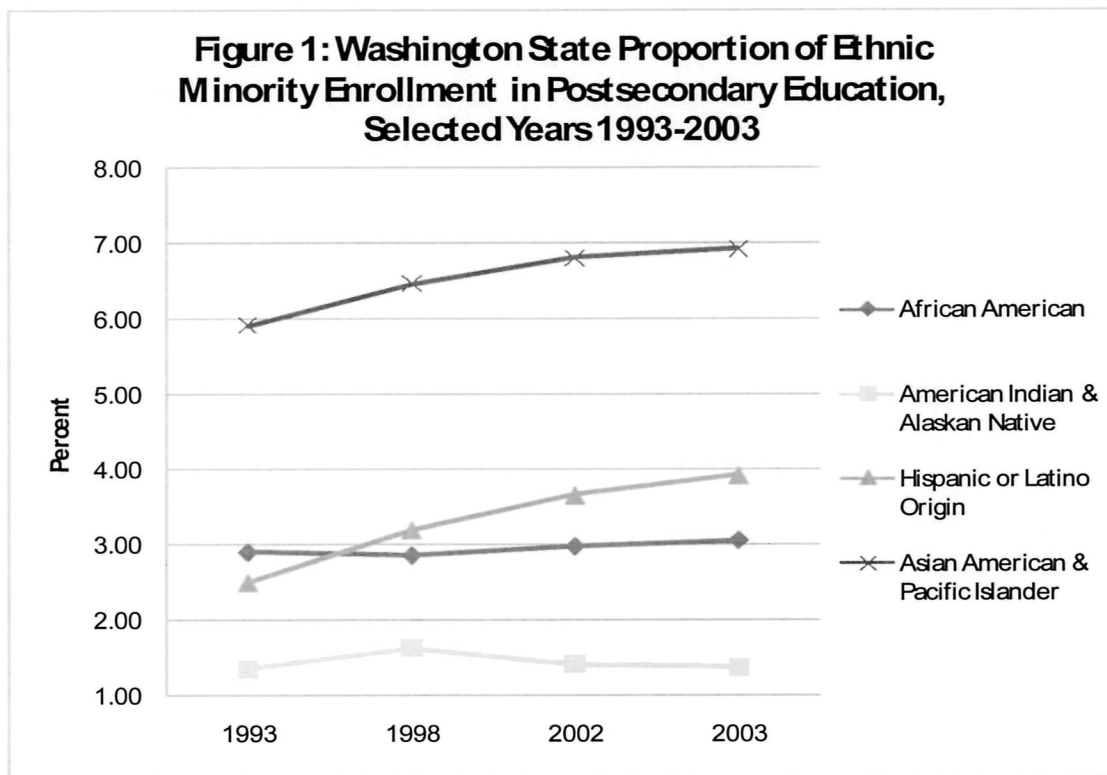
Chapter 5 – Data Trend Analysis

This chapter will analyze trends in the application, admission, and enrollment of minority students at each public 4-year institution in Washington State from directly before the passage of Initiative 200 to the most recently available data from each university. Each analysis of trends is separated into an analysis of data from less selective regional universities in the state, including Western Washington University, Eastern Washington University, and where data is available Central Washington University and more selective institutions, including Washington State University and the University of Washington. The previous overview of background and context, Chapter 3, and literature review, Chapter 4, provide a useful contextual framework in which to understand these findings.

Overall Enrollment Trends in Washington State

Figure 1 below graphically represents trends in minority enrollment at all postsecondary education institutions in Washington State for selected years from 1993 to 2003. The figure was created with data gathered from a national report by the American Council on Education entitled *Minorities in Higher Education 2006 Status Report*. This data is at a highly aggregated level as it includes minority students enrolled at all of the postsecondary education institutions in Washington State. This includes a wide range of institutions such as community and technical colleges and 4-year colleges and universities, for-profit and non-profit institutions, as well as public and private institutions (Cook et al, 2006).

The vertical axis represents the percentages of total postsecondary enrollment by each ethnicity. In general the enrollment of minorities has increased over the course of these years, with the largest increases in the proportion of Hispanic and Asian American/Pacific Islander students enrolled in postsecondary education. Over this time period the proportion of Native American and Alaskan Native students enrolled in postsecondary education in the state has declined, although as the decline is slight it may not be of significance, see Figure 1 below (Cook et al, 2006).



This analysis is particularly interested in changes in enrollment at the 4-year public institutions in the state, institutions that are not known for their open-access nature as are community and technical colleges. Important findings from the literature review that create a contextual framework in which to understand the analysis that follows are:

- Under affirmative action policies minority students were given the largest degree of advantage at selective and top-tier institutions.
- Estimated effects of the elimination of affirmation action are upwards of a 30 percent decrease in the number of minority students accepted to more selective institutions.
- Flagship public universities in states that have banned affirmative action have been predominantly affected by those bans.

Trends in Applications

According to the literature reviewed, declines in applications of minority students to

public 4-year institutions often occur directly following the announcement or the implementation of bans on affirmative action. An analysis of trends in the proportion of applications received from minority students following the passage of I-200 at Washington's public 4-year institutions reveals no over-arching negative impact at all institutions as was found in studies of the University of California, University of Texas Austin, or Texas A&M. The two regional universities discussed below saw mixed effects of I-200 in the application of minority students initially. The number of applications received from students from each minority background in 1998 is reported as the pre I-200 level. Following the ban on affirmative action policies the post I-200 change is reported as the difference between the number of applications received in 1998 and in 1999 for each group, see Table 4 below.

Table 4: Change in Number of Minority Applicants, 1998 to 1999

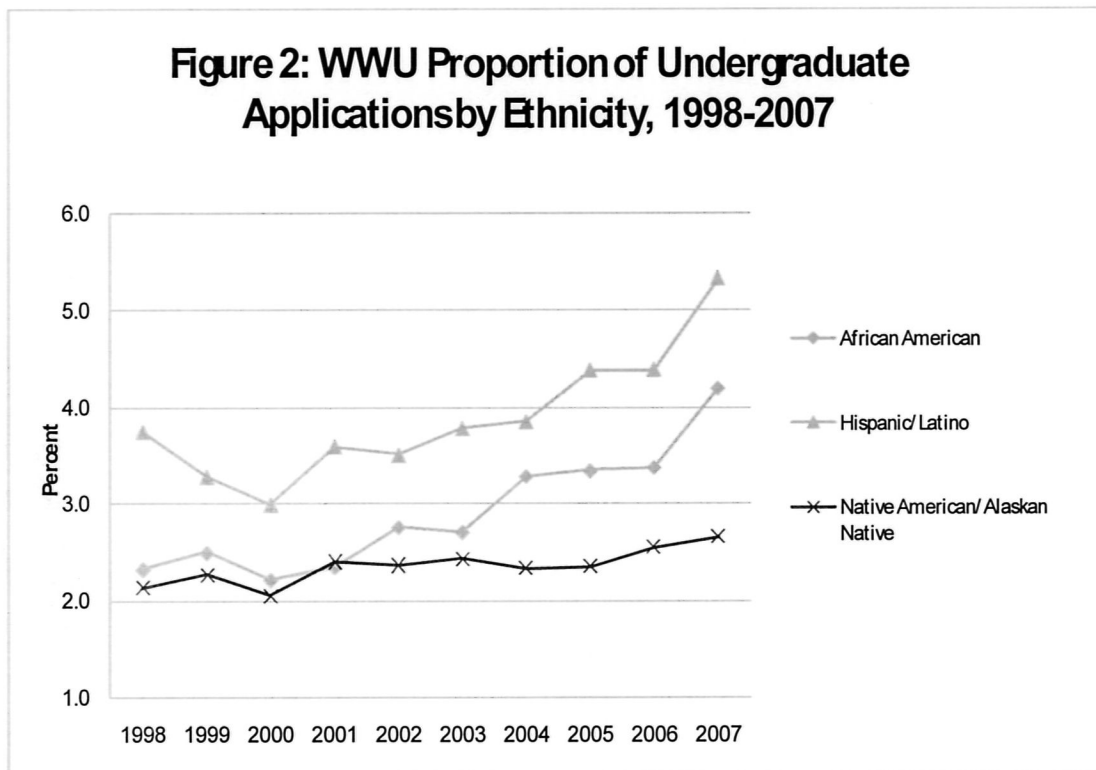
	Eastern Washington University		Western Washington University	
	Pre I-200	Post I-200 Change	Pre I-200	Post I-200 Change
African American	108	+50	175	+24
Hispanic or Latino Origin	176	+30	283	-21
Native American & Alaskan Native	117	-19	161	+20
Asian American & Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	185	+145	732	+137

Data gathered from Institutional Research Offices at EWU and WWU.

These findings are not consistent with those in other states that saw dramatic declines in the number and proportion of minority applicants following bans on affirmative action policies.

At both Eastern Washington University (EWU) and Western Washington University (WWU) these effects occurred in a time of increasing numbers of applications for admission overall. The number of applications received from students of each ethnic background increased between 1998 and 1999, except applications received from Hispanic students at WWU and Native American students at EWU. At Western Washington University there was an increasing trend from 1998 to 2007 in the number of applications received from students of each ethnic group. The proportion of applications received from each ethnic group changes very little each

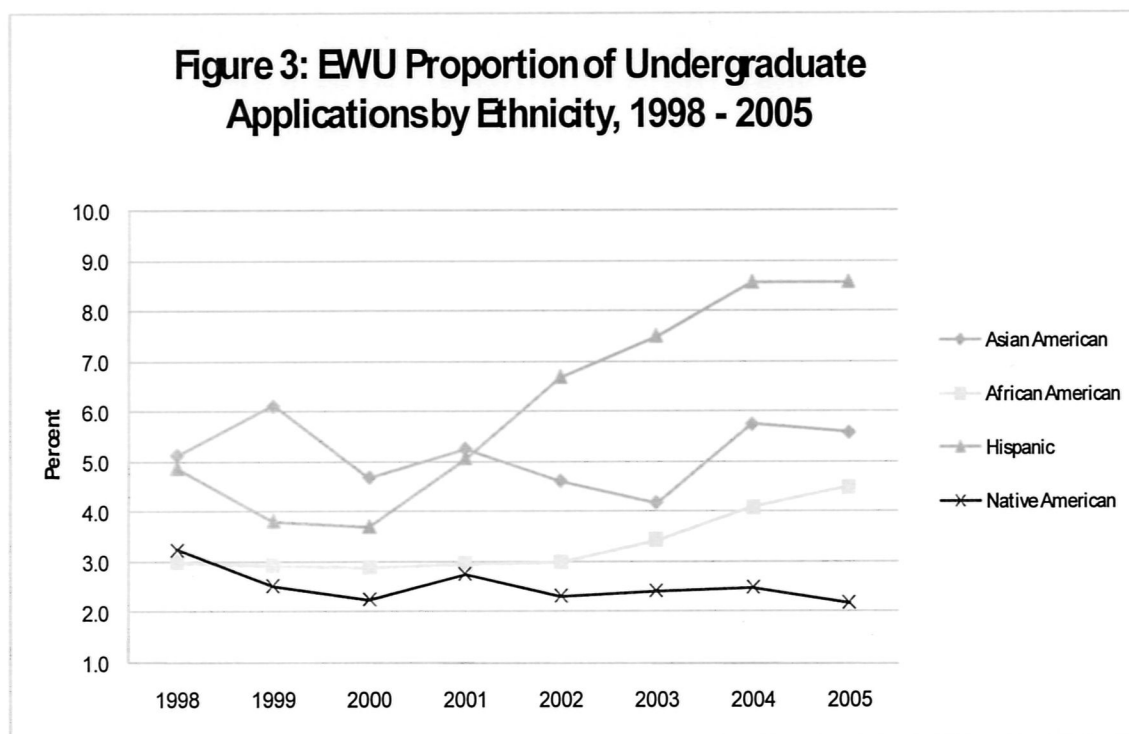
year, fluctuating only a few percentage points over this ten year period, see Figure 2 below.³ The only exception is an overall decline in the number of students that do not report an ethnicity on their application. Slight declines in the proportion of applications received are evident from 1998 to 2000 for Hispanic students and from 1999 to 2000 for Native American and African American students.



Eastern Washington University shows a similar trend in an increasing number of applications received each year from 1998 to 2005. However, the variability in the number received from each ethnic group is much larger than at WWU. The proportion of applications received from Native American students shows a slight downward trend of almost one percentage point, while the proportion of applications received from Hispanic and African American students show an upward trend over the eight year period. The especially large

³ Note that Asian Americans are not included in the graph. As the proportion and number of applications received from students of this background is so much larger than students from other minority backgrounds, including them in the graph does not allow for a focused view on trends in African American, Hispanic, and Native American students. The overall trend is increasing, with slight drops in applications from 1999 to 2000.

increases in the proportion of Hispanic students applying to the university may be explained by the large increases in the Hispanic population of Washington State over this same time period, as mentioned in Chapter 3. The proportion of applications received from Asian Americans has decreased from a high in 1999, directly following implementation of I-200. See Figure 2 below.



According to previous studies summarized in the literature review, other states that banned affirmative action saw the largest effects of those bans at the more selective universities. As the regional universities in Washington State are arguably less selective than Washington State University and the University of Washington, the impact of I-200 should be more pronounced at these more selective institutions. Table five below shows changes in the number of total applications that were received from minority students, disaggregated by race and ethnicity, from 1998 before implementation of I-200 to 1999 the first year following the policy change.

Table 5: Change in Number of Minority Applicants, 1998 to 1999

	Washington State University		University of Washington	
	Pre I-200	Post I-200 Change	Pre I-200	Post I-200 Change
African American	377	+15	492	-87
Hispanic or Latino Origin	409	-66	679	-82
Native American & Alaskan Native	214	-26	226	-40
Asian American & Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	780	-102	3195	-211

Data gathered from Institutional Research Offices at WSU and UW.

From 1998 to 1999 the total number of applicants to Washington State University declined overall, while applications from Caucasian and African American students increased. The number of applications received from all other minority students and those that chose not to report an ethnicity on their application decreased following implementation of the ban on affirmative action. The impact of I-200 at WSU registered a 16.1 percent decline in the number of applications received from Hispanic students, a 12.1 percent decline in applications from Native American and Alaskan Native students, and a decline of 13.1 percent in applications from Asian American and Hawaiian/Pacific Islander students. The effects of I-200 at WSU are more pronounced than at the regional universities. With the exception of African American students, a clear pattern exists. This is to be expected as the state's land grant institution, Washington State University, is arguably more selective than the regional universities that were initially created to serve students from the region in which the school is located.

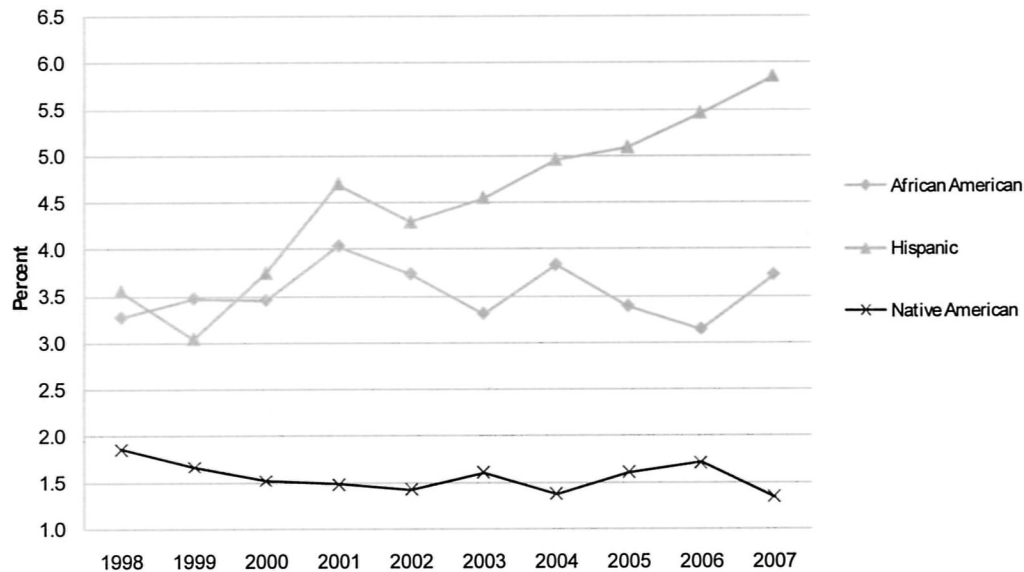
At the University of Washington declines in the number of applications received from each minority group occurred immediately following implementation of I-200. It is important to note that in this same period the number of Caucasian applicants to the university decreased as well, by a total of 565 students. This decline of 565 is out of a total of 10,499 applications received from Caucasian applicants in 1998. Declines in minority applications make up a larger proportion of the total declines in applications. Between 1998 and 1999 the number of applicants that did not report their race or ethnicity increased by 227 students, this amount fails

to account for the large drops in applications from every ethnicity.

At the University of Washington there was a 17.7 percent decline in applications from African American students, a 17.7 percent decline in applications received from Native American students, a 12.1 percent decline in applications received from Hispanic students, and a 6.1 percent decline in applications received from Asian American and Hawaiian/Pacific Islander students following implementation of I-200. Applications received from Caucasian students declined by only 5.4 percent. As Washington's flagship university and the most selective public institution in the state, these findings are consistent with those of other researchers that the largest impact of affirmative action bans occurs at the most selective institutions. With the largest impacts registered at the University of Washington, these findings corroborate with those of the Hirschman and Brown study that found that the impact of I-200 was almost entirely registered at the University of Washington.

Trends in the proportion of applications received from students of minority backgrounds at Washington State University from 1998 to 2007 are mixed, although a generally increasing trend in the number of applications received is present (See Figure 4 below). Similar to trends found at the regional universities, the proportion of applications received from Hispanic students shows the largest increases over this period of time. This is likely due to an increasing Hispanic population in the state. The proportion of applications received from African American students did not decline directly following implementation of the ban, in fact no general trend exists over the ten year period. Changes in the proportion of applicants that are African American are slight over this period. Native Americans show a general decline in the proportion of applications received at WSU, although in an overall trend of increasing number of applications received at the school this effect would occur even if the number of applications received from Native American students did not change from year to year. However the number of applications received declines almost every year between 1998 and 2007.

Figure 4: WSU Proportion of Undergraduate Applications by Ethnicity, 1998 - 2007



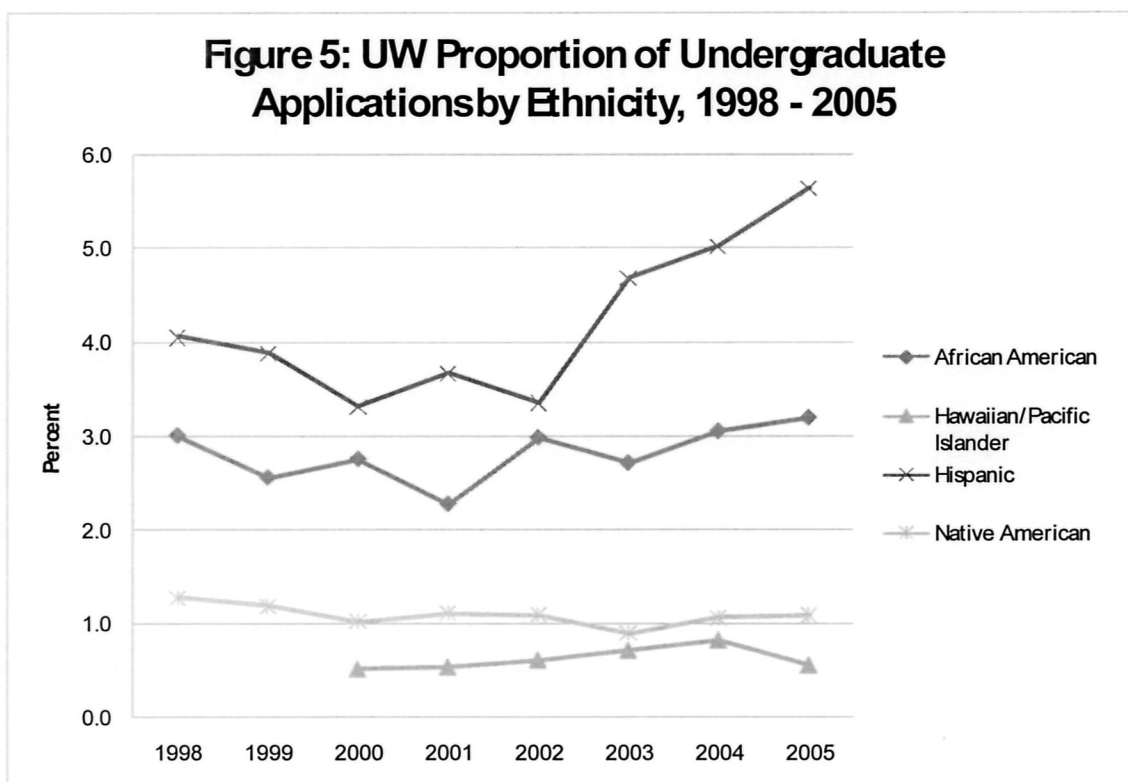
From 1998 to 2005 the University of Washington has witnessed fluctuations in the number of undergraduate applications it received each year. This ranged from a low in 1998 of 18,162 to a high in 2003 with 20,510. It is important to note that in 2000 the university made Hawaiian/Pacific Islander its own category, allowing students from that ethnic background to choose it rather than Asian American.

The proportion and number of applications received from American Indian students has fluctuated over this eight year period, overall the proportion and number has declined and had not reached pre I-200 levels as of 2005 (see Figure 5 below).⁴ The decline is slight at 0.4 percentage points. Similar to trends at WSU, WWU, and EWU, the overall trend in applications received from Hispanic students has been upwards. Yet again this is likely due to large increases in the number of Hispanics in the general population. Following I-200 the number and

⁴ Note that Asian Americans are not included in the graph. As the proportion and number of applications received from students of this background is so much larger than students from other minority backgrounds, including them in the graph does not allow for a focused view on trends in African American, Hispanic, and Native American students. The overall trend is increasing, following slight declines after implementation of I-200 from 1998 to 1999.

proportion of applications received from African American students fell initially, with a slight recovery in 2000. The number of applications reached pre-ban levels in 2002. The 2005 academic year witnessed the highest number and proportion of African American applicants over the eight year period between 1998 and 2005. The proportion of applications received from Hawaiian/Pacific Islander students is largely stagnant, with slight fluctuations no greater than 0.3 percentage points.

Overall trends from 1998 to 2005 at the University of Washington show slight fluctuations present in the proportion and number of applications received from students of each ethnic background, with the exception of the large overall increases in applications from Hispanic students. These fluctuations are so slight as to likely not be of practical significance. However large initial declines following implementation of I-200 from 1998 to 1999, in the range of 6 to almost 18 percent could be significant reflections of the effects of I-200.



Trends in Admissions

As minority candidates were given advantages in the admissions process under affirmative action policies, it would logically follow that without affirmative action policies the rate of admission for these candidates would decline. The admission rate is the percentage of applicants within the specified group that are admitted to the university. The following table compares the admission rates of freshmen minority students before implementation of I-200 and the change in admission rates following the ban, see Table 6 below.

Table 6: Change in Admission Rates of Freshmen Minority Applicants, 1998 to 1999

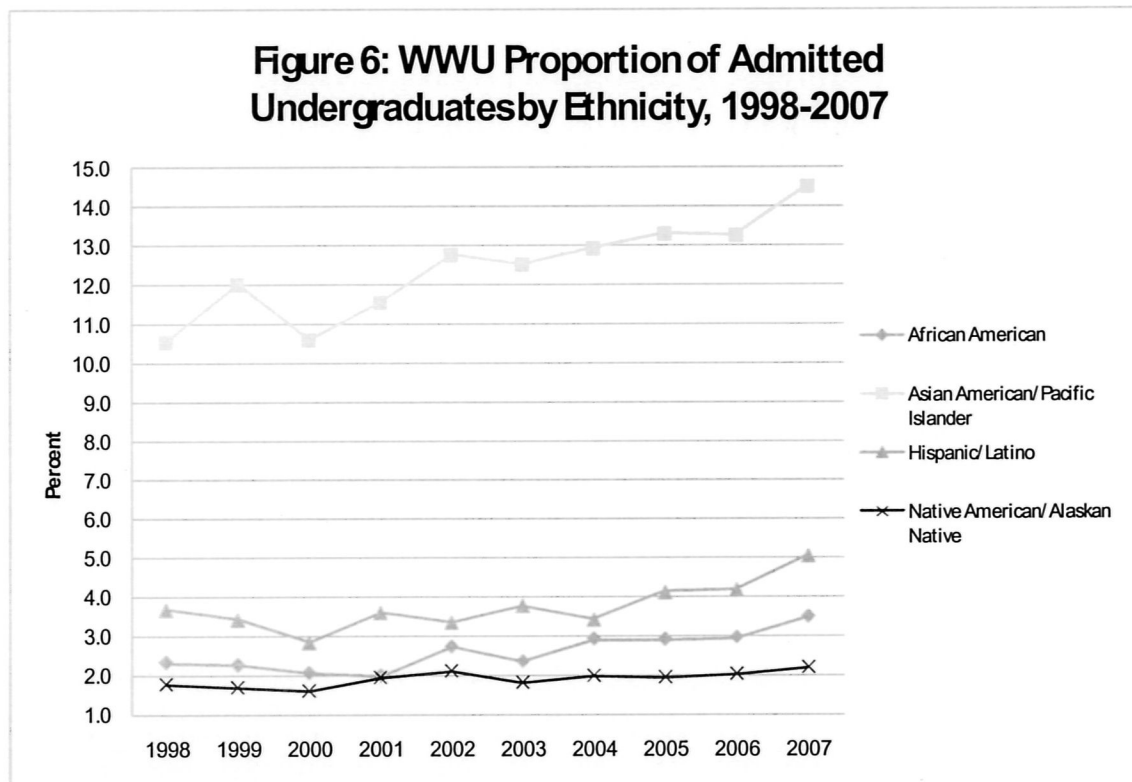
	Eastern Washington University		Western Washington University	
	Pre I-200	Post I-200 Change	Pre I-200	Post I-200 Change
African American	0.78	-0.09	0.82	-0.07
Hispanic or Latino Origin	0.89	-0.04	0.89	-0.07
Native American & Alaskan Native	0.88	-0.06	0.83	-0.13
Asian American & Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	0.89	+0.01	0.90	-0.04

Data gathered from Institutional Research Offices at EWU and WWU.

The table above illustrates that the admissions rate for each ethnicity declined following I-200's ban on the use of affirmative action policies in admissions decisions, as was expected. The only exception is a slight increase in the admissions rate for Asian Americans and Hawaiian/Pacific Islander students at EWU. The end of affirmative action practices at WWU saw the largest impacts on African American, Hispanic, and Native American applicants, impacts at EWU echo this finding as the largest impacts were also on the admission rate of African American and Native American applicants.

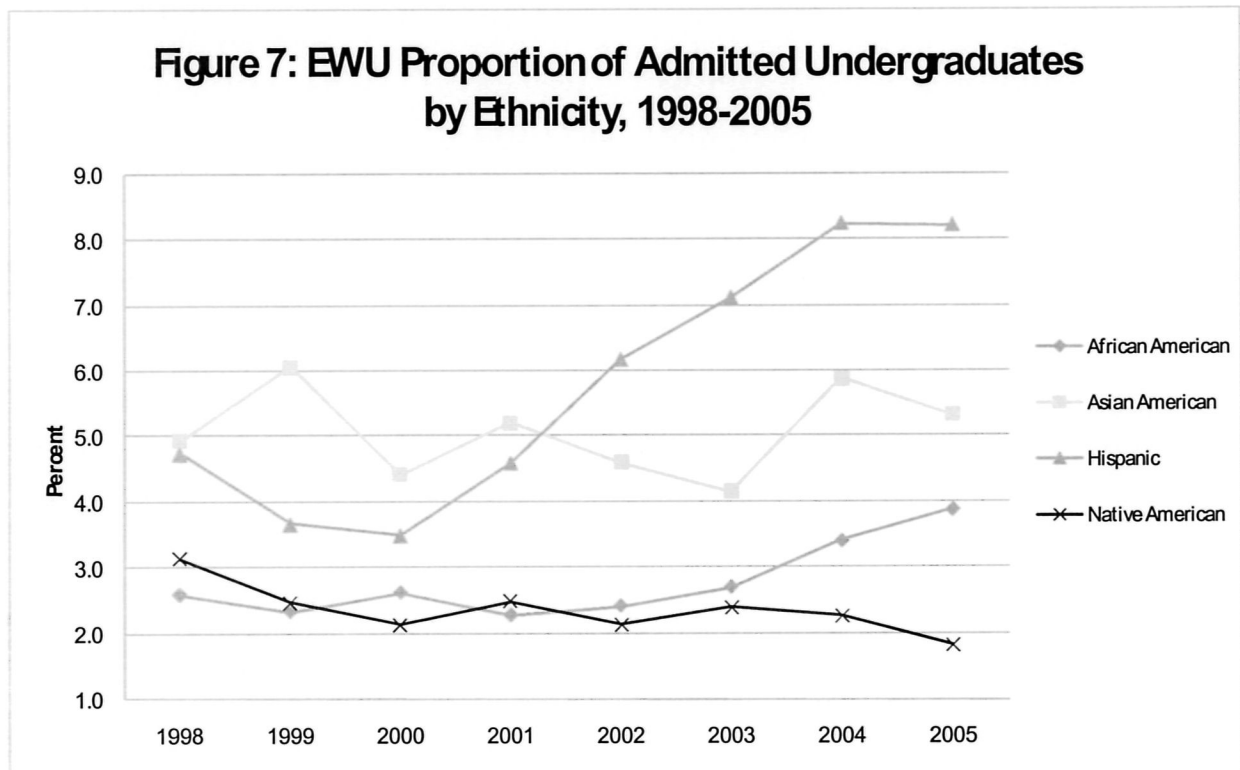
Between 1998 and 2007 trends at Western Washington University show an overall increase in the number of students admitted to the university, likely due to overall expansion of the higher education system in Washington State over this period which translated into increased enrollment spaces funded at each university. The proportion of minority students admitted to the

university declined in all groups, except Asian Americans, following I-200. Following this decline, the proportion of students admitted from each minority group has increased to pre-ban levels, see Figure 6 below. The proportion and number of Asian American students admitted to the university has increased over this period, with the number of students admitted increasing by over 30 percent. The number and proportion of admitted students from other minority groups has generally fluctuated a minimal amount over the ten year period, with generally increasing trends in Hispanic and African American students admitted.



Directly following implementation of I-200 the proportion and number of minority students dropped in each ethnic group, except for Asian Americans, at Eastern Washington University, see Figure 7 below. The proportion of Asian American admitted students has fluctuated from a high of 5.41 percent in 1999 to a low of 3.3 percent in 2003. Large increases in the proportion of Hispanic admitted students, with smaller increases in the proportion of admitted African American students, are evident over the eight year period. The proportion and

number of Native American admitted students has generally declined over the entire period following implementation of I-200 in 1999.



According to the framework developed in the literature review, minority students were given the largest degree of advantage at selective and top-tier institutions. If this is true in Washington State then the largest declines in admission rates and the number of students admitted from minority groups should occur at Washington State University and the University of Washington. Table 7 below illustrates the admissions rates of minority applicants and changes in the admissions rate of minority applicants following implementation of I-200 at WSU and UW.

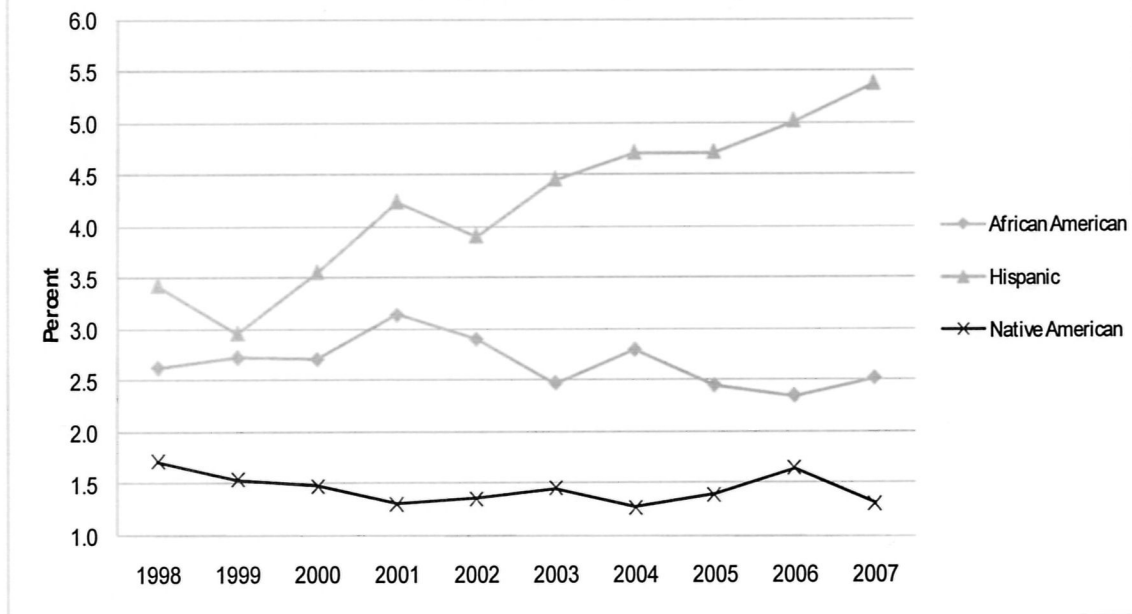
Table 7: Change in Admission Rates of Minority Applicants, 1998 to 1999

	Washington State University		University of Washington	
	Pre I-200	Post I-200 Change	Pre I-200	Post I-200 Change
African American	0.71	-0.05	0.65	-0.08
Hispanic or Latino Origin	0.86	-0.04	0.72	-0.02
Native American & Alaskan Native	0.82	-0.04	0.62	+0.03
Asian American & Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	0.90	-0.06	0.67	+0.11

Data gathered from Institutional Research Offices at WSU and UW.

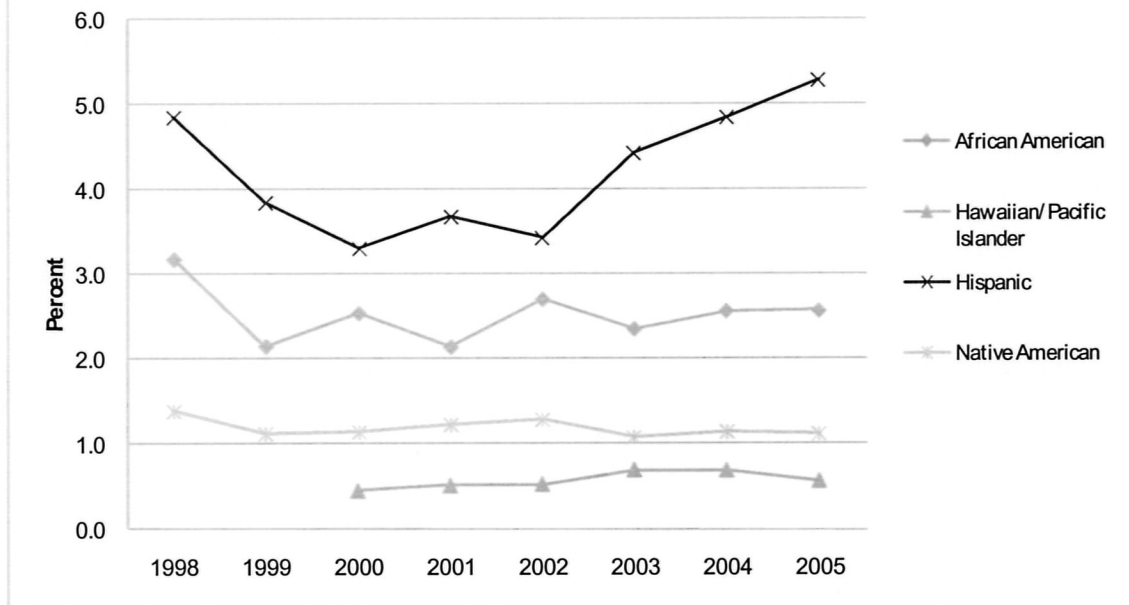
While there is no evidence of large declines in the admission rates of minority individuals, those minority students impacted the greatest by the ban on affirmative action policies are African American and Hispanic applicants. The rate of admission for African American and Hispanic students declined at the University of Washington, while a slight increase in the admission rate of Native Americans occurred. Washington State University witnessed declines in the admission rate of students from all backgrounds, including Caucasian students. The University of Washington saw an 11 percent increase in the rate of admission for both Asian American and Caucasian students. In order to understand how these changes in admission rates translated into changes in the number and proportion of freshmen admitted to the university see Figure 8 and 9 below.

Figure 8: WSU Proportion of Admitted Undergraduates by Ethnicity, 1998 - 2007



Between 1998 and 1999 the number of admitted students overall and the number of admitted students from each ethnic background fell at Washington State University. However the proportion of Caucasian students admitted to the university increased, while the proportion of Hispanic, Native American, and Asian American students admitted decreased. African American students witnessed a slight, 0.1 percent increase in their proportion of admitted students. In the ten year time period spanning 1998 to 2007 the number of students from Hispanic backgrounds admitted to the university has increased by 73 percent, this is also evident in a generally increasing trend in the proportion of Hispanic student admitted to the university. The proportion of admitted students that were from African American and Native American backgrounds remained largely unchanged from 1998 to 2007, with slight fluctuations from year to year.

Figure 9: UW Proportion of Admitted Undergraduates by Ethnicity, 1998 - 2005



Following the implementation of I-200, from 1998 to 1999, the University of Washington demonstrated a decrease in the number of African American students admitted to the university by almost 32 percent, followed by a decline in the number of Hispanic students admitted by 17.3 percent, and a decline of 10.7 percent in the number of Native American students admitted to the university in 1999. Declines in the proportion of minority students admitted are evident in all minority groups, with the steepest declines in the proportion of African American and Hispanic students admitted to the university. This is to be expected as the largest decline in admissions rates for minority students were also found in the African American and Hispanic students that applied to the university. The proportion of African American and Native American students admitted to the university had failed to reach pre-ban levels as of 2005, although with minimal changes in the proportion over this time period this finding may not be significant. After an initial drop in admitted students following implementation of I-200, the proportion of Hispanic students admitted to the university has increased by over 2 percentage points between 1998 and 2005. The proportion of African American students admitted to the university has stagnated as

of 2002 and fluctuates between 2 and 2.5 percent. The proportion of Native American students admitted to the university has fluctuated minimally around 1 percent since the elimination of affirmative action policies in 1999.

Trends in Enrollment

Enrollment is a function of not only the students who apply and are admitted to a university but also a function of the students' choice to enroll at a particular institution. This choice can be affected by many different factors including other universities the student has been admitted to, how welcoming the student perceives the campus environment to be, cost of attending the institution, the financial aid awarded to the student, if they have some other connection to the institution such as family or friends that have attended it, distance from the students home, among others. Research in the literature review contained some findings important to understanding trends in enrollment:

- decreases in enrollment of minority students of 15 to over 30 percent following the elimination of affirmative action policies;
- declines in the proportion of minority students that choose to enroll at an institution even when they have been admitted;
- particularly pronounced declines at the flagship universities and more selective institutions in each state.

In order to determine the effect of I-200 on the enrollment of minority students at 4-year public institutions in Washington State the percent change in enrollment from 1998 to 1999 was calculated. The percent change in enrollment is calculated as the difference between the number of students enrolled in 1998 and 1999 from each ethnic background, divided by the base number of students enrolled in each ethnic group in 1998 and translated into a percentage. Data for Eastern Washington University, Central Washington University, and Western Washington University are presented below, see Table 8.

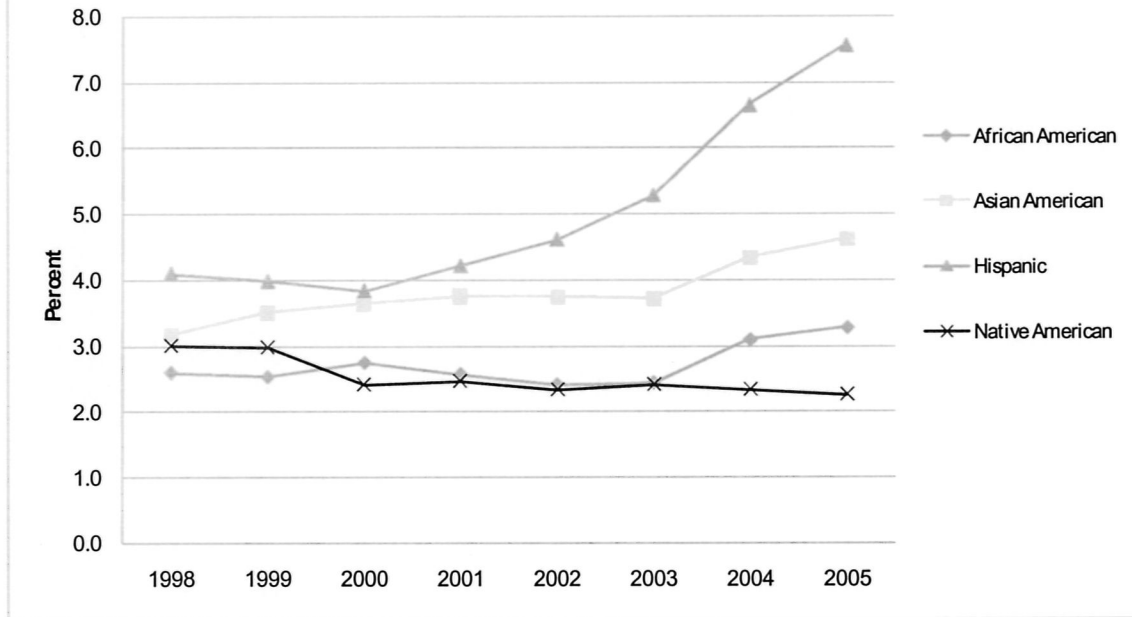
Table 8: Percent Change in Enrollment of Undergraduate Minority Students, 1998 to 1999

	Eastern Washington University	Central Washington University	Western Washington University
African American	+4.4	-0.7	-1.9
Hispanic or Latino Origin	+3.9	+4.6	-6.1
Native American & Alaskan Native	+6.5	-10.6	-7.8
Asian American & Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	+18.4	-1.3	+13.2

Data gathered from Institutional Research Offices at EWU, CWU, and WWU.

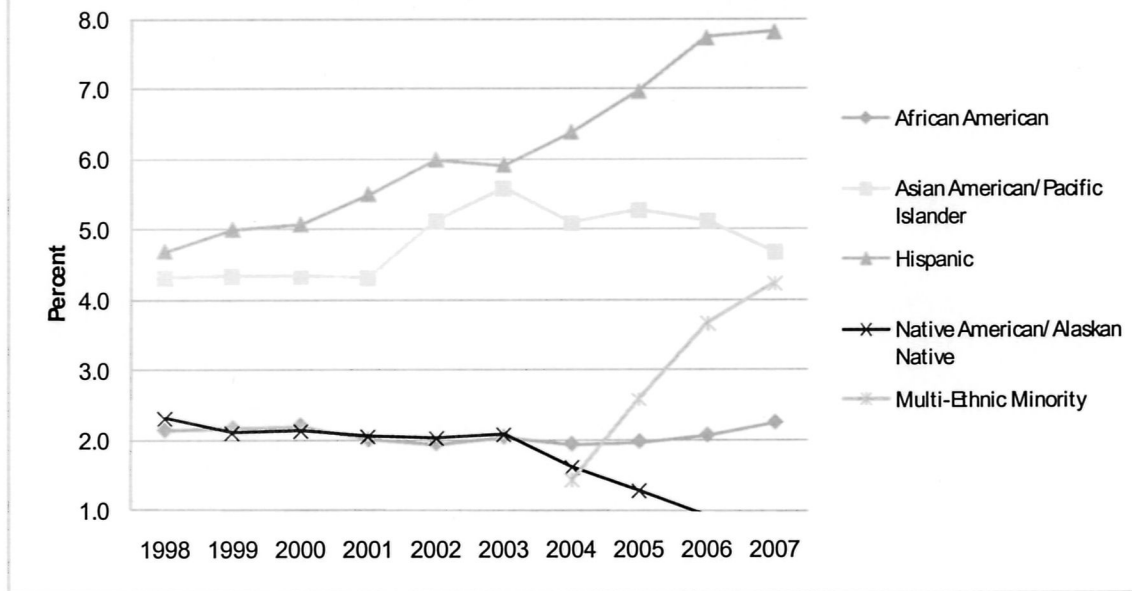
The results of I-200 at Eastern Washington University are surprising, yet may be at least partially explained by increases in both overall enrollment and in the enrollment of students from each ethnic background. Central Washington and Western Washington witnessed mixed results, with declines in the enrollment of all minorities except Hispanic and Asian American students respectively. At each institution the percent change in enrollment of Caucasian students was positive or did not change. These findings do not corroborate the declines witnessed at institutions in other states, described in the literature review. At CWU and WWU, in general declines occurred in all minority groups with one exception at each institution. It is important to note that at CWU the highest proportion of minority students enrolled at the institution has historically been Hispanic students. Similarly at WWU the highest proportion of minority students enrolled has historically been Asian American students. This may explain the anomaly of increases in the percent of enrolled Hispanic students at CWU and of enrolled Asian American students at WWU.

Figure 10: EWU Proportion of Undergraduate Enrollment by Ethnicity, 1998 - 2005



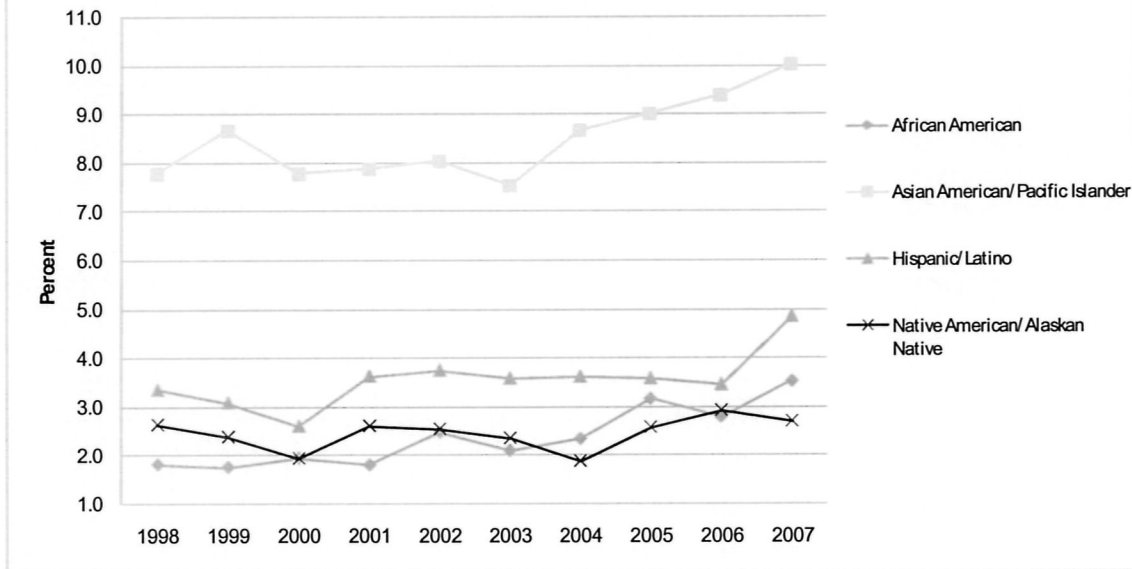
At Eastern Washington University the proportion and number of students enrolled from each ethnicity over the eight year time period spanning from 1998 to 2005 has increased in general, with the exception of the proportion and number of Native American students enrolled which has declined slightly, see Figure 10 above. With generally increasing enrollment overall, Central Washington University witnessed no significant impact of I-200 on the proportion of minority students enrolled. Over the ten year period shown in Figure 11 below, generally increasing trends are present in the proportion of Hispanic and Multi-Ethnic Minority students. It is important to note that the Multi-Ethnic Minority category was added by CWU in 2004, this may account for increases in the proportion of Multi-Ethnic Minority students and declines in the proportion of other minority students. The proportion of African American and Asian American students has fluctuated slightly over the ten years, although with no real changes. Finally, the proportion of Native American students enrolled at CWU displays a slight downward trend over these years, which may be explained by the addition of the Multi-Ethnic Minority category in 2004 since many Native Americans can be classified as Multi-Ethnic.

Figure 11: CWU Proportion of Undergraduate Enrollment by Ethnicity, 1998 - 2007



At Western Washington University the impact of I-200 on minority students registered slight declines for two consecutive years in the proportion of Hispanic and Native American students enrolled at the university, before increasing in 2001. The proportion of Native American students enrolled at WWU has fluctuated within one percentage point from 1998 to 2007. Overall increases in Hispanic, African American, and Asian American students occurred over the ten year period, see Figure 12 below.

Figure 12: WWU Proportion of Minority Undergraduate Enrollment, 1998 - 2007



These findings suggest that the impact of I-200 at the regional universities in Washington State was minimal, mostly reflected in slight declines in the enrollment of minority students following the policy implementation in 1999. This lack of pronounced declines in the enrollment of minority students is counter to findings in the literature review that saw much larger impacts of affirmative action bans on enrollment of minority students. The literature review estimated larger decreases in enrollment at more selective institutions, and particularly at the flagship university in the state. With expected larger impacts on enrollment at these institutions, an examination of Washington State University and the University of Washington follows.

In the literature review, studies that determined the effects of affirmative action bans on the enrollment of minority students found declines of 15 to over 30 percent at the most selective 4-year public institutions. Table 9 below displays the percent change in enrollment of students from each ethnic background from 1998 to 1999 at Washington State University and the University of Washington.

Table 9: Percent Change in Enrollment of Undergraduate
Minority Students, 1998 to 1999

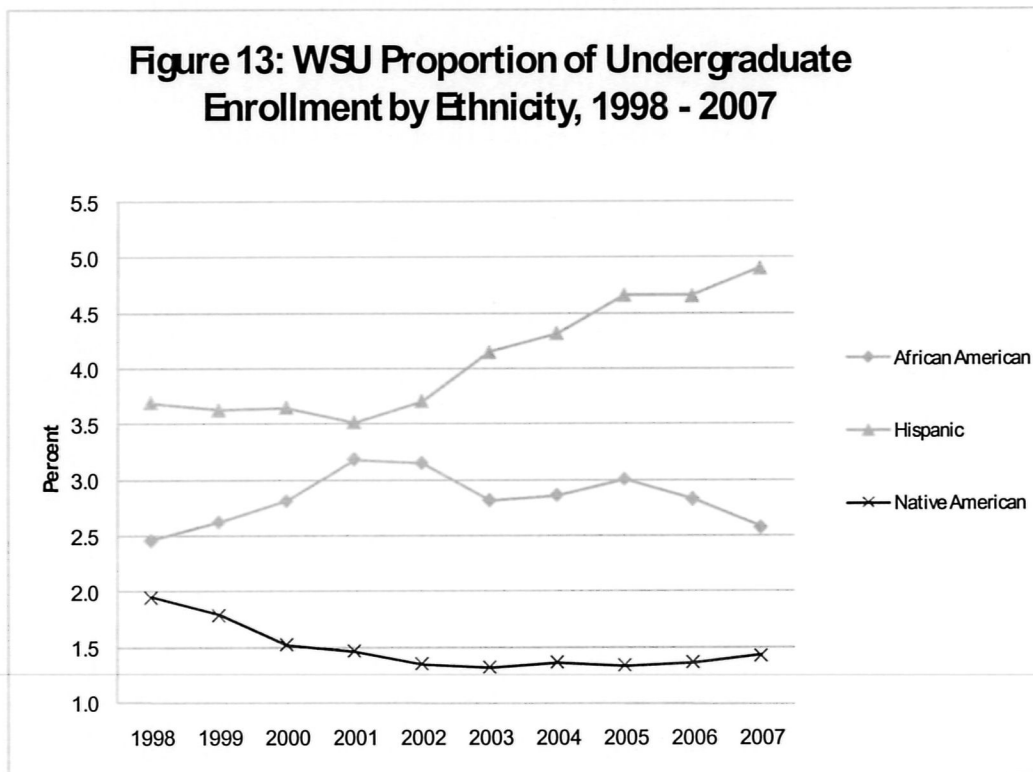
	Washington State University	University of Washington
African American	+4.2	-30.4
Hispanic or Latino Origin	-4.1	-26.0
Native American & Alaskan Native	-10.3	-24.1
Asian American & Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	-6.1	+4.2

Data gathered from Institutional Research Offices at WSU and UW.

The impact of I-200 at Washington State University registered declines in the enrollment of minority students from Hispanic, Native American, and Asian American backgrounds. These declines of 4.1 to 10.3 percent fail to meet the threshold estimated in the literature review, although the overall impact is greater at WSU than at the three regional universities. Findings from the University of Washington substantiate much of the framework developed in the literature review. The change in enrollment of African American students from 1998 to 1999 was 30.4 percentage points, similar declines in the enrollment of Hispanic and Native American students are also evident at 26 and 24.1 percentage points respectively. These percent declines fall within the range estimated by studies in the literature review. The largest declines in enrollment were evident at the University of Washington, the flagship and most selective university in Washington State. These findings also confirm Hirschman's claim that the impact of I-200 was almost entirely registered at the University of Washington.

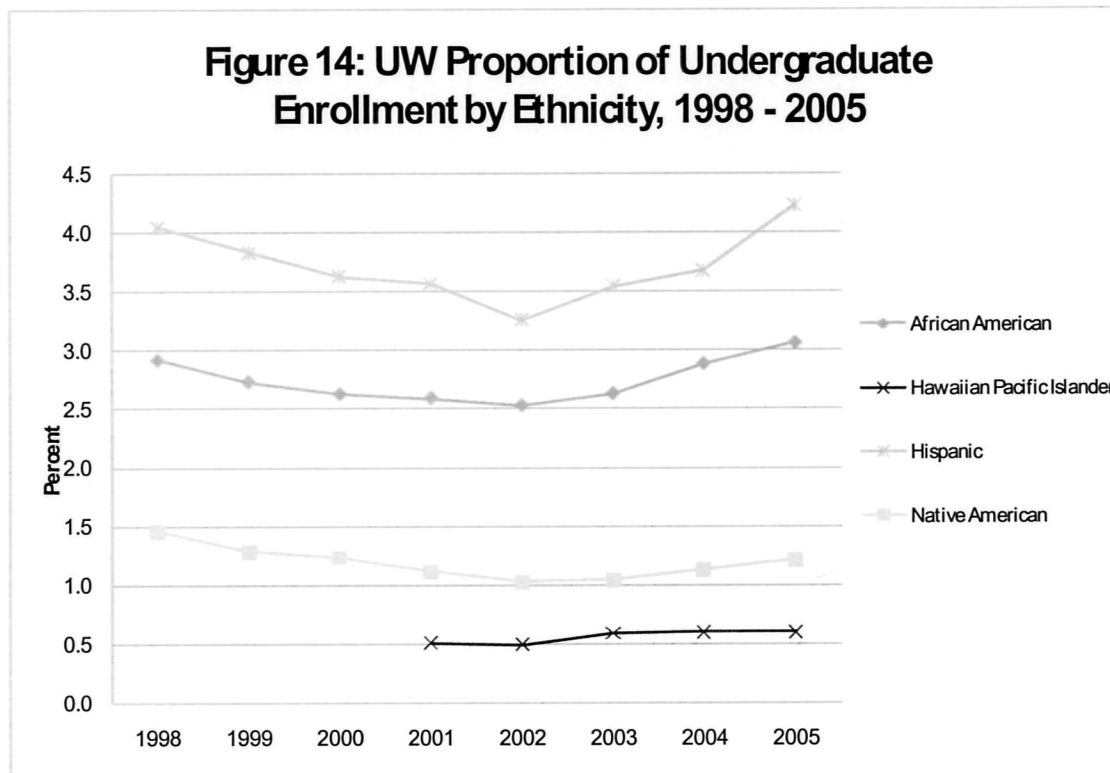
While Washington State University registered declines in the absolute number of students enrolled from each minority group, the proportion remained largely unchanged from 1998 to 1999. Slight declines in the proportion of Hispanic and Native American students, with a slight increase in the proportion of African American students enrolled at the university followed implementation of I-200, see Figure 13 below. From 1998 to 2007 the proportion of African American and Native American students has remained mostly stagnant with minor yearly

fluctuations. In contrast, the proportion of Hispanic students enrolled at the university shows an increasing trend over this ten year time period. While I-200 clearly registered an impact at WSU, the impact was not as large as that registered at the University of Washington.



The University of Washington registered the largest impact of Initiative 200 on the enrollment of minority students. Declines in the proportion and number of students from African American, Hispanic, and Native American backgrounds are evident in Figure 14 below. However the proportion of Asian American students enrolled at UW rose slightly from 1998 to 1999. Similar to the general trend at every 4-year public institution in Washington State the proportion of Hispanic students enrolled at UW shows an increasing trend following two consecutive years of decline in 1999 and 2000. Following initial declines after I-200, the proportion of Native American and African American students enrolled at the university has remained largely unchanged over the eight years spanning 1998 to 2005. The proportion and number of Asian American students enrolled at the institution has increased almost every year

from 1998 to 2005.



As described in the literature review other states that have banned the use of affirmative action, have experienced large declines in the number and proportion of minority students that applied, were admitted, and enrolled at public 4-year institutions. Effects were particularly large at more selective institutions and campuses. In Washington State the impact of I-200 was minimal at the less selective institutions, and was almost entirely registered at the University of Washington. Trends from the period of 1998 to 2005 and 2007 show increases in the number and proportion of minority students applying, admitted, and enrolled to public 4-year institutions in the state. Students of Hispanic background have particularly pronounced increases over this time period, although likely due to the increase of Hispanics in the general population. General increases in the proportion of all minority groups in the population are likely, at least partially, the cause of increased participation of minority students over this time period.

Chapter 6 – Race-Neutral Policy Responses

This chapter will provide examples of race-neutral policies and programs that seek to increase the participation of minority students at public 4-year institutions. Specific efforts by universities in Washington State will be addressed, and a critique of each race-neutral policy response will be offered.

Race-Neutral Alternatives to Affirmative Action

While bans on affirmative action have limited the ways in which universities can seek to increase diversity in their student population, universities remain committed to diversity. The National Association for College Admission Counseling surveyed 451 4-year institutions throughout the United States about diversity related issues, compiling their findings in *Diversity and College Admission in 2003: A Survey Report*. Of all respondents over 80 percent stated a commitment to some form of diversity in their mission statement, while over 60 percent stated a commitment to racial and ethnic diversity in their mission statement. Of public institution respondents 79 percent had a stated goal of obtaining racial and ethnic diversity on their campus. Universities remain committed to enrolling a diverse student body, yet few institutions use race-conscious policies in admissions (NACAC, 2003). Only 26 percent of public institution respondents use race as a factor in admissions decisions, this is likely due to not only the existence of affirmative action bans in many states but also the institution's fear of being taken to court (NACAC, 2003).

With a continued commitment to diversity, universities have sought race-neutral policies in order to increase diversity in their student body. In response to these efforts the United States Department of Education, Office of Civil Rights released a report entitled *Achieving Diversity: Race Neutral Alternatives in American Education* in 2004. This report provides a “toolbox” containing an array of workable race-neutral alternatives” that universities throughout the United States have used in their attempts at increasing student diversity on college campuses (US Dept Ed, 2004 Pg. v). This report fails to evaluate the effectiveness of these alternatives to affirmative

action. It does, however, create an inventory of policies and programs implemented by universities and states in response to increasing pressures or legal requirements to remove race-conscious policies and programs and replace them with race-neutral alternatives.

In order to increase the participation of minority students at public 4-year institutions universities have responded to bans on affirmative action in three distinct ways:

- increased recruitment efforts and outreach to underrepresented minority populations,
- implementation of top percent plans, and
- the use of economic affirmative action in admissions decisions (NACAC, 2003; Marcus, 2004; Davis, 2007; Long, 2007; Kahlenberg, 2003; Karl Smith, personal communication, April 22, 2008; Dr. Michael Tate, personal communication, May 5, 2008; Emily Washines, personal communication, April 14, 2008).

Increased Recruitment and Outreach

Eighty-one percent of public institutions that responded to the NACAC survey reported using “specific recruitment activities to reach out to racial/ethnic minority students” (NACAC, 12). Examples of increased recruitment efforts and outreach to underrepresented communities provided by NACAC include: the addition of staff positions or entire offices focused solely on multicultural recruitment, by over 55 percent of public institution respondents, and outreach to “underrepresented and underserved [high school] students” (NACAC, 14). In fact NACAC concludes that targeted recruitment of minority students is an increasing trend, from 50 percent of universities that responded in 2000 to 63 percent in 2002 and 74 percent 2003 (NACAC, 14).

The Department of Education, Office of Civil Rights offers some further examples of increased outreach and recruitment in their 2004 report, introduced above. These include the establishment of recruitment centers in cities and satellite offices in smaller communities throughout the state, a strategy employed at the University of Texas Austin and at Texas A&M. The report cites many universities that have implemented scholarship programs for students from high schools that have “no substantial history” of sending students to the university, this includes

the Long Horn Scholars Program at UT Austin and the Century Scholars Program at Texas A&M (US Dept of Ed, 22). Many such programs include curriculum and outreach components, including assisting students through the college application process and campus visits. Other examples include “a student ambassador program” such as that at the University of Florida (UF) where current university students speak to students at their former high schools about UF (US Dept of Ed, 23). Florida has also implemented “a summer on-campus college preparation program for educationally disadvantaged, low-income students” (US Dept of Ed, 23).

Public 4-year institutions in Washington State responded to I-200 by increasing outreach and recruitment targeted towards minority students. The mission of the Recruitment and Outreach Unit, within the Office of Minority Affairs at the University of Washington, “is to identify and recruit academically competitive underrepresented students who will apply and, if admitted, choose to enroll at the UW” (Office of Minority Affairs, 1). Universities throughout Washington State responded in similar manners to the examples given above, these included:

- additional admissions officers and recruitment specialists to provide targeted outreach;
- pre-college advising to assist students through the admissions process;
- site based admissions counselors at cities throughout the state;
- university recruiters working closely with high school counselors to reach out to students of color and first generation students;
- weekend conferences focused on recruitment of underrepresented students from specific backgrounds;
- partnerships with university minority student organizations in outreach efforts to high school students with the same background;
- ambassador programs where current university students talk to high school students about the university;
- scholarship programs for low-income students, such as the UW Husky Promise Scholarship, or students of color, such as the UW Diversity Scholars and the WSU Future Cougars of Color;
- as well as other outreach programs that may be distinct to specific departments and

offices within the university, these often include curriculum components that introduce students to the specific departments subject area, assist students with the college application process, and provide campus visit opportunities.

The above are just some examples of the numerous outreach and recruitment efforts employed by universities throughout the state.

Economic Affirmative Action

Following bans on race-conscious affirmative action many institutions have implemented economic affirmative action. This approach seeks to increase diversity by giving more consideration to applicants that exhibit economic disadvantage. Seven factors that define economic disadvantage include: parental occupation, parental income, parental education, single parent household, net worth or wealth, measures of school quality, and neighborhood concentration of poverty (Kahlenberg, 3). Economic affirmative action seeks to include as many of these factors as possible in the admissions process. Under economic affirmative action policies students that have “performed well despite having faced various social and economic obstacles” are favored in the admissions process (US Dept of Ed, 61). Universities examine a student’s academic accomplishments in the context of specific factors including whether students:

- have low family income,
- will be the first in their family to attend or graduate from college,
- have a large family,
- come from “disadvantaged social or educational environments,”
- and whether students “attend a low performing high school” (Kahlenberg, 2).

Institutions such as the University of California, University of Florida, University of Texas, Texas A&M, as well as public 4-year institutions in Washington State have adopted some form of economic affirmative action following bans on affirmative action. At institutions in Washington State this is referred to as either “Holistic Review” or “Comprehensive Review,” as described previously under the explanation of admissions requirements in Chapter 3 (“Washington State

Public College Admissions,” 2007).

Economic affirmative action seeks to increase the racial and ethnic diversity on college campuses with the addition of criteria and questions to the admissions process that address factors that universities hope will correlate with race. “Minority students may benefit under [economic affirmative action] because their racial and ethnic groups are disproportionately disadvantaged according to socioeconomic factors” (US Dept of Ed, 61). If this is true then giving extra consideration to those students that exhibit economic disadvantage will likely mean greater consideration of ethnic minority students in college admissions decisions. New guidelines created by the University of Washington seek to increase diversity by admitting students that have overcome adversity, are first-generation college students, or are from high schools within disadvantaged educational districts (Long, 2007).

Top Percent Plans

While not a policy response in Washington State, many states have responded to bans on affirmative action with top percent plans. These plans seek to increase the proportion of ethnic minority students enrolled at public 4-year institutions in the state to better reflect the proportion of ethnic minorities in the general population. Top percent plans are premised on the belief that public high schools remain largely segregated. By guaranteeing admission to students whose grade point averages place them in the top X% of their high school graduating class, it is presumed that the proportion of ethnic minorities at 4-year institutions would more nearly reflect the proportion in the general population (Kahlenberg, 2003). Three states, Texas, California, and Florida have implemented this policy with different rules and stipulations (Long, 2007).

The University of California system automatically admits applicants in the top 4% of their graduating class at a California high school into one of the UC campuses, although not always according to the student’s campus preference. Florida automatically admits students in the top 20% of their graduating class to one of the public universities in the state, including those that are not selective. Students must apply to three universities and be rejected for admission from

each one before they are guaranteed admission, not at an institution of their choice. The Florida and California top percent plans also require students to take specific courses while in high school. In Texas the top 10% of students in their graduating class are automatically admitted into any public university in the state, including the state's flagship universities (Horn, 2003).

Evaluation of Race-Neutral Policy Responses

The three policies presented above are race-neutral responses to bans on affirmative action and seek to minimize the effects of bans on the participation of minority students at public 4-year institutions in those states. A summary of studies examining the success of these responses at increasing the application, admission, and enrollment of minority students at universities following bans on affirmative action policies is discussed in this section. Evaluations of these policies are however, problematic. As many of these policies are implemented at the same time, directly following bans on affirmative action, it is difficult to determine the effects of each policy on outcomes of minority student participation at public 4-year institutions since these effects are confounded with the implementation of the bans as well as other policy changes that occur at the same time. For example, in states where the use of affirmative action policies have been banned, the common policy response of universities in those states has been some combination of the three policy responses described above. There is also a lack of literature evaluating the impacts of each race-neutral policy response because these race-neutral policies are relatively new, implemented within the previous ten years, and many articles that discuss these common policy responses reference each other.

Economic Affirmative Action

The United States Commission on Civil Rights published a report responding to the U.S. Department of Education's *Race-Neutral Alternatives in Postsecondary Education: Innovative Approaches to Diversity* originally issued in 2003. This response is primarily a critique of the race-neutral policies presented by the Department of Education, citing that the report "ignores the growing body of research that challenges assertions that some of the programs are viable substitutes for affirmative action" (US Commission on Civil Rights, "Beyond" 3). The US

Commission on Civil Rights critiques economic affirmative action programs that target low-income students, “underserved populations,” students from low-performing high schools, and economically disadvantaged students, stating that “efforts that avoid any use of race as a factor severely limit their effectiveness” at serving minority students (US Commission on Civil Rights, “Beyond” 8). Similarly Danielle Davis in “Race and Diversity in Higher Education: An Examination of Race-based Admission and Its Alternatives,” finds that the use of economic disadvantage in admissions decisions is not a sufficient alternative for affirmative action. Davis posits that although African American and Latinos are “more likely than whites to have lower incomes, their absolute numbers still [represent] a minority of the low-income population” (Davis, 27). A study cited by Davis holds that while increased recruitment and outreach efforts may increase the number of applicants from African American and Hispanic backgrounds, “it is less likely that such programs will render these groups as competitive as their White and Asian peers for admission” to universities (Davis, 28).

The use of a “Holistic Review” process at the University of Washington has increased diversity, according to the Director of Outreach and Recruitment for the Office of Minority Affairs, Karl Smith (personal communication, April 22, 2008). However the increased diversity is not evidenced by large increases in the number of minority students admitted to the university. Instead, the policy has increased other forms of diversity at the university including socioeconomic, geographic, and cultural, among others. Each of these alternative admissions programs, both the “Holistic Review” and the “Comprehensive Review” process, allow students’ to be considered for admission on factors beyond the traditional grade point average and standardized test score measures. Each student’s application is reviewed with a broader understanding of the student as an individual and the life experiences that have shaped them. This allows students extra consideration in the admissions process.

At Central Washington University the “Comprehensive Review” process has allowed students that have experienced traumatic events that influenced their academic performance the opportunity to explain lower academic achievement, according to Emily Washines the Native American Liaison for Admissions at the university (personal communication, April 14, 2008).

When the timing of traumatic events and grades are examined together, clear relationships exist between low academic achievement and the student's experience of a traumatic event. After examination of the literature, data, and interviews the researcher concludes that after implementation of changes to the admissions process directly following bans on affirmative action no overarching increase in the number of minority students admitted to each university in Washington State is evident. While these forms of economic affirmative action in Washington have increased diversity on college campuses, they have generally failed to significantly increase the admission of minority students to 4-year public institutions in the state.

Increased Outreach & Recruitment and Top Percent Plans

A report issued by the United States Commission on Civil Rights in 2002, entitled "Beyond Percentage Plans: The Challenge of Equal Opportunity in Higher Education" examines the impacts of increased outreach and recruitment efforts and the implementation of top percent plans in states that have banned the use of affirmative action, particularly California, Texas, and Florida. This report expands on findings from a 2000 study by the Commission entitled "Toward an Understanding of Percentage Plans in Higher Education: Are They Effective Substitutes for Affirmative Action?" that evaluated the effectiveness of top percent plans in Texas at the University of Texas Austin (UT Austin). Initial declines in the enrollment of minority students at UT Austin occurred following the elimination of affirmative action policies. Implementation of the Texas Top 10% Plan the following year increased enrollment of minority students, however not to the levels reached under affirmative action policies. A report from the University of Texas Austin Office of Admissions reiterates these findings, stating that:

"Though it is not possible to determine the precise impact of [the Texas Top 10% Plan] on the University's freshman class one can see that when compared to the class entering in 1997, the class of 1998 is more diverse (34% minority compared to 32%) but not as diverse as the class that entered in 1996 which was 38% minority" (US Commission on Civil Rights, "Toward" 1).

In order to evaluate California's Eligibility in the Local Context, the 4 percent plan, the US Commission on Civil Rights in "Beyond Percentage Plans" examines changes in the

proportion of minority students entering the entire University of California (UC) system as freshmen. The proportion and number of minority students that enrolled as freshmen for the year prior to implementation of Proposition 209 is used as the baseline, from which the impact of policy changes are measured. A deficit in an academic year means that the proportion and number of minority students enrolled in the UC system is lower than the baseline amount, the amount under affirmative action policies. For the entire UC system the number and proportion of African American, Hispanic, and Native American students enrolled as freshmen are in deficit from 1996 to 2002. These years span the elimination of affirmative action policies, an increase in outreach and recruitment efforts, implementation of the top 4 percent plan, and alterations to the admissions process including the addition of some forms of economic affirmative action. This trend is similar for most campuses within the UC system. The Commission concludes that implementation of the 4 percent plan and a comprehensive review process “have led to small increases in the presence of these underrepresented minority groups” (US Commission on Civil Rights, “Beyond” Pg. 30). It is important to note that the success of these policies is measured against the year prior to implementation of Proposition 209, when anticipation of the ban led to declines in the number of applications received from minority students. These small increases are in the context of already declining participation by minority students in the University of California system.

An examination of the Talented 20 Program in Florida in “Beyond Percentage Plans” finds that the program along with the addition of economic affirmative action to the admissions process has increased the number of minority and nonminority students enrolling at public 4-year institutions in Florida. However these policies failed to change the proportion of students from each minority group enrolled in the state university system. The percentage of African American, Hispanic, and Native American “applicants who enrolled as first-time students in the state university system” declined following implementation of the Talented 20 Program, while the percentage of Caucasian and Asian American students increased. The Talented 20 Program particularly disadvantages African American students, who are the least likely to be in the top 20 percent of their high school graduating class. Hispanic, Native American, and African American students remain underrepresented at the University of Florida, Florida’s flagship institution (US

Commission on Civil Rights, "Beyond" Pg. 74).

Top percent plans are premised on the belief that high schools in the United States remain segregated, thus by admitting the top X% of each high school's graduating seniors the proportion of students attending 4-year public institutions in the state will more nearly reflect the proportion of minorities in the general population. The United States Commission on Civil Rights in "Towards an Understanding of Percent Plans" concludes that "a colorblind law in a racially segregated primary and secondary public school environment can promote some diversity in undergraduate admissions" (1). However while high schools remain highly segregated, they are not completely segregated and most minority students in the top X% of their high school graduating class would be accepted and attend universities in those or other states even without the top percent plan (Long, 2004).

A 2007 study by Mark Long entitled "Affirmative Action and Its Alternatives in Public Universities: What Do We Know?" sought to determine if the race neutral policies implemented in California, Texas, Florida, and Washington following bans on affirmative action "increased or decreased the degree of underrepresentation of Black, Hispanic, and Native American students at flagship public universities in [those] states" (Long, 2007 Pg. 320). Underrepresentation is defined as the "difference between minorities' share of freshmen enrollment and their share of high school graduates the prior spring" (Long, 2007 Pg. 320). At the most selective campuses in the University of California system, the University of California Los Angeles and at the University of California Berkeley, the share of Black, Hispanic, and Native American students that applied, were admitted to, and enrolled at these campuses has grown since 1998. However, it "appears to be the result of demographic shifts rather than policy effects" (Long, 2007 Pg. 320). Similar outcomes occurred at the most selective public 4-year institutions in Texas, Texas A&M and the University of Texas Austin, and Washington, at the University of Washington. While rebounds occurred following implementation of race-neutral policy responses, all of it "can be explained by robust growth in [Blacks', Hispanics', and Native Americans'] share of high school graduates" and a "growing minority presence in the general population" (Long, 2007 Pg. 321).

Catherine Horn and Stella Flores evaluate the top percent plans implemented in California, Texas, and Florida in a 2003 study entitled “Percent Plans in College Admissions: A Comparative Analysis of Three States’ Experiences.” This study finds that states that have implemented top percent plans are experiencing demographic shifts that are more pronounced than those found in Washington State. Since the implementation of top percent plans Texas, Florida, and California have all witnessed increases in the proportion of ethnic minorities in the general population (Horn et al, 2003). In California Whites no longer comprise a majority of the population, as of the 2000 Census. In Texas the proportion of Hispanics in the general population has increased by four percentage points in just five years, between 1995 and 2000. Similar shifts have occurred in Florida with a rising proportion of African American individuals (Horn et al, 2003). These changes are projected to continue into the future, with the populations of these states becoming more diverse. In fact the high school age population, 15 to 19 year olds, is even more diverse than the total population in these states. Horn posits that this “suggests that maintaining the same proportionate level of access achieved during the race-conscious affirmative action era is not a stable standard” (Horn et al, 58).

In order to assess the effectiveness of the top percent plans a brief examination of ethnic minority enrollment at the premier public 4-year institutions in these states follows. Prior to the ban on affirmative action in Texas as of 1995, the University of Texas Austin’s enrollment was 66 percent Caucasian, 3 percent African American, 14 percent Hispanic, and 14 percent Asian American. Since the ban on affirmative action the proportion of Caucasian students enrolled has decreased, while the proportion of Asian American students enrolled has increased. The share of Hispanic students has risen back to pre-ban levels, while the share of African American students had not as of 2001 (Horn et al, 2003).

In California at the University of California Berkeley and the University of California Los Angeles, the proportion of Hispanic and African American students enrolled had the largest declines and as a proportion had not reached pre-ban levels as of 2001. As in Texas, the proportion of Asian American students enrolled increased while the proportion of Caucasian

students remained unchanged. At the University of Florida prior to the ban on affirmative action the “proportion of enrolled students who were White was shrinking” while the proportion of enrolled students who were African American and Hispanic was increasing (Horn et al, 50). After implementation of Talented 20, Florida’s top percent plan, the proportion of enrolled students who were Caucasian rose sharply from 66 to 72 percent. At the same time, the proportion of African American students enrolled decreased from almost 12 percent to 7 percent, while the proportion of Asian American students enrolled remained steady at 7 percent (Horn et al, 2003).

The trends in these states, even with implementation of top percent plans, have shown that “the gap between the racial distribution of college-freshmen-age population and that of the applications, admissions, and enrollments to the states’ university systems and to their premier campuses is substantial and has grown even as the states have become more diverse” (Horn et al, 58). It seems that “percent plans have fallen well short of creating diverse flagship campuses reflective of the states they are intended to serve,” moreover it is likely that “even among those admitted under the percent plan policies, a majority would have likely been admitted regardless” (Horn et al, 58).

Chapter 7 – Recommendations & Conclusion

This Chapter will offer some concluding remarks on race-neutral policy responses to bans on affirmative action followed by recommendations for the Washington State Commission on African American Affairs. Recommendations for the Commission will address areas in which to focus efforts in the future, in order to decrease inequities in the educational attainment of minority students and particularly African American students in higher education in Washington State.

Conclusion

In order to increase the participation of minority students at 4-year institutions there are multiple points of intervention.

1. Initially the pool of minority students that are competitive applicants for admission could be expanded,
2. the number of applications received from minority students could be increased,
3. admissions policies could be altered to increase the number of minority students accepted to public 4-year institutions.

Much of the focus following bans on affirmative action centers on the admissions process. The three race-neutral policies presented in Chapter 6 are common policy responses following affirmative action bans that align with two of the three points of intervention. Increased recruitment and outreach efforts focus on the second point of intervention, increasing the number of applications higher education institutions receive from minority students. Economic affirmative action policies focus on the third point of intervention, by altering admissions policies universities hope to increase the number of minority students accepted for admission. Top percent plans also alter admissions policies, seeking to increase the number of minority students admitted to public 4-year institutions in states that have implemented the plans.

The admissions process is arguably the most visible and targeted area of focus when creating and implementing policies that seek to increase diversity on college campuses. Initially affirmative action policies were part of the admissions process. Following bans on affirmative action, policy responses by universities targeted changes to the admissions process under forms of either economic affirmative action or top percent plans. However evaluations of these three common policy responses find, at best, mixed results on the participation of minority students. The positive results likely cannot be attributed to the policy being evaluated as states implementing these policies, as the United States in general, is experiencing large demographic shifts as evidenced by increasing numbers of minority individuals in the general population. These shifting demographics can explain most, if not all, of the increases in minority participation found in states that have implemented race-neutral policy responses following bans on affirmative action.

While these race-neutral policies have been arguably somewhat successful at increasing the participation of minority students following bans on affirmative action they have failed to make any further gains beyond those made under affirmative action policies. In order to address continual inequities in the participation of minority students in higher education in general, and at public 4-year institutions in particular, I propose that other means are necessary. Approaches that focus on the admissions process do not address inequities in the preparation of minority students for admission to universities. Developmental approaches that seek to increase the college readiness of minority students and thus increase the number of minority students that are competitive candidates for admission will likely have greater success in getting students to apply to, gain admission to, and enroll at a 4-year postsecondary institution.

Recommendations

As an advisory body to the Governor, legislature, and state agencies regarding the rights, needs, and concerns of the African American community, the Washington State Commission on African American Affairs should:

- **Advise the Governor, legislature, and state agencies to focus efforts on increasing the college readiness of underrepresented students in order to increase student diversity at public 4-year institutions in the state.**

The passage of House Bill 2722, to make a strategic plan that will address the achievement and opportunity gap of African American youth is an important step forward in increasing the participation of African American students in 4-year postsecondary education in the state. I recommend concerted efforts by the Commission to gain support and resources to expand services to minority students that will assist students in becoming more college-ready and competitive for admission to higher education institutions. This will increase the pool of minority students that are college ready and competitive applicants for admission to universities in Washington State, in turn likely increasing the participation of minority students at public 4-year institutions in the state.

- **Further research on developmental approaches and college readiness programs.**

As this research focused on common race-neutral policy responses that centered on the admissions process, developmental approaches focused on increasing the college readiness of students were not examined or evaluated. I recommend further research on developmental college readiness approaches, including:

- Best practices of, or key components to include in, successful college-readiness programs.
- Evaluation of programs that currently exist and their success at increasing the number of minority students that apply, are admitted, and enrolled at 4-year postsecondary institutions.
- How best to leverage funding in order to serve the largest number of individuals with limited resources.

Appendices

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Interview Protocol

Introduction:

I will begin with a brief explanation of the Degree Project and Public Service Clinics, as well as a description of my research project and what I hope to gain from the interview. I will also address the reason that I am interviewing that particular individual and how it relates to the project.

Hello, I am Nissa Limbach, a Master of Public Administration candidate in the Evans School of Public Affairs at the University of Washington. In place of a Masters Thesis, the Evans School requires a Degree Project (similar to a capstone project) which is the culmination of your learning from the program. For my Degree Project I am participating in the Public Service Clinics where I am matched with a non-profit or government client that has a particular topic they would like researched. My degree project is the research project I perform for this client. My client is the Washington State Commission on African American Affairs, for whom I am studying student diversity at public 4-year colleges and universities in Washington State after the passage of Initiative 200 effectively eliminated the use of affirmative action in college admissions and financial aid decisions by public institutions almost a decade ago. (Note that diversity in my research is limited to ethnic and racial minorities.) The second part of my project consists of creating an inventory of alternative admissions programs in use in Washington State as well as an examination of the effectiveness of these programs at increasing diversity on college campuses. From interviewing you I hope to gain a better understanding of student diversity at universities in Washington State, as well as your knowledge of alternative admissions programs in the state and your thoughts on the effectiveness and success of these programs and policies.

1. How would you characterize the state of diversity at public 4-year colleges and universities in Washington State, particularly in the student population?
 - *Prompt:* Is there enough diversity?
2. What do you think are the current areas of concern regarding diversity in higher education in Washington State?
 - *Prompt:* At your particular institution?
 - *Prompt:* Has your institution set any goals regarding diversity? If so, could you briefly describe them? (E.g. *diversity in enrollment, diversity in curriculum, diversity in faculty/staff*)

3. What is your university doing to increase the diversity of its student population? How successful do you think these efforts have been? Why?
4. In your knowledge, what are other universities doing to increase diversity in their student populations?
 - *Prompt:* In Washington? Other states?
 - *Prompt:* Do you feel that those (whatever they mention above) would work for your institution? Why?
 - *Prompt:* In your knowledge, have these been successful or effective?
5. How would you determine if these programs or policies were successful or effective? What kind of data or information would you need to make this determination?
 - *Prompt:* Are there any that you believe are particularly innovative and effective in their approach?
6. (*Question specific to their institution*) In 2003 UW changed their admissions process, focusing on a more 'holistic' view of the student by incorporating questions about diversity and obstacles overcome on the admissions application. Do you think that this is an effective, race neutral policy to increase student diversity?
 - *Prompt:* How effective do you think this policy has been? Why?

Many public universities in Washington State, including WSU and UW, have specific scholarship programs for low-income and/or minority students such as Future Cougars of Color at WSU and the Husky Promise Scholarship at UW. Do you think that these programs are effective at increasing student diversity?

- *Prompt:* Is a scholarship component an important part of a program that seeks to increase the number of minority students at 4-year institutions?
7. How can we increase the participation (i.e. application, admission, enrollment, and degree completion) of ethnic minorities in higher education, particularly at four year institutions in Washington State?
 - *Prompt:* Do you know of any policies or programs that could be implemented at the state level? At universities?
 - *Prompt:* What specific elements need to be present in order for a program to be successful at creating a diverse student body at universities? What policy issues need to be addressed in order to increase diversity at universities in Washington State?
 8. Is there anything else you would like to add?
 9. Can you recommend anyone I should contact for an interview that might be helpful in my research? Can you recommend any written material that may be helpful in my research?
 - *Prompt:* Contact information.

Interviews:

Emily Washines, Native American Liaison Admissions – Central Washington University

Karl Smith, Director of Outreach & Recruitment Minority Affairs/Admissions, Office of
Minority Affairs – University of Washington

Dr. Michael Tate, Vice President of Student Services, Diversity, and Equity – Washington State
University

Senait O. Habte, Program Manager, Making Connections Program – University of Washington